Daily Report

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Inspection of Military Facilities in Belgium Ends

LD1711234989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1640 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Brussels, 17 November (TASS)—TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov reports: A group of Soviet inspectors who arrived in Belgium on 14 November has completed its inspection of the military facilities, situated on the territory of that country. It was carried out in accordance with the provisions for verifying the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium-and shorter-range missiles.

We are fully satisfied with the results of the check, V.A. Akimenkov, leader of the group, stated to the TASS correspondent before departure for Moscow. The U.S. side was warned about the forthcoming inspection, as provided for by the existing accords, 16 hours before our arrival. In Belgium there are two facilities to which the effect of the treaty on medium-and shorter-range missiles extends—the military base in Florennes and the European center for the repair and technical servicing of missiles in Gosselies. We chose for verification the base in Florennes, from where, according to the statements of the U.S. command, the last cruise missiles were transported to the U.S. for final destruction in December of last year. The group's investigation confirmed that there was not a single missile left there. The representatives of the U.S. and Belgian sides who received us did everything so that we could carry out our mission successfully.

Chief CFE Negotiator Grinevskiy Interviewed

PM2111101089 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 18 Nov 89 p 15

[Interview with Oleg Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation to the Conventional Forces in Europe negotiations, by Vladimiro Odinzov in Vienna; date not given]

[Text] Vienna—The metallic chimes that broke the muffled silence of the drawing room at the Soviet embassy in Vienna were 5 minutes late according to the time shown by the large, dark wood and gilt grandfather's clock. Ambassador Oleg Grinevskiy glanced at his watch: "Sometimes time moves faster than we realize and some things lad behind." There was a hint of humor in his calm voice, as he sank into his armchair. Oleg Andreyevich Grinevskiy heads the Soviet delegation to the CFE talks on the reduction of conventional forces in Europe, which began in the Austrian capital 9 March and have proceeded at a furious pace, with which the clock has perhaps not yet caught up.

[Odinzov] Mr Ambassador, the sequence of events in Eastern Europe are profoundly changing the Warsaw Pact countries and the negotiating climate with NATO and Western Europe. Do you believe that these developments will also influence the negotiations here in Vienna?

[Grinevskiy] Of course. What is happening in our country will have very strong repercussions and a very strong influence on the Warsaw Pact countries' stances. In these negotiations disarmament is not an end in itself, aimed simply at arms reduction. We want to completely rebuild our countries, and to do this we need material resources—and I am not referring so much to money.

But to do this we absolutely must reappraise our position in the security field and create structures to guarantee this security, no longer by military means but by political means.

Let us consider the case of East Germany—the most recent. What do the new forces now acceding to power in the GDR, Poland, and Hungary want? They simply want this political, economic, and social renewal in their countries. But to make this possible they need, above all, security that is politically guaranteed and that only thus will make it possible to release all the resources currently absorbed by the military sector.

So what we are upholding here in Vienna are simply the national interests promoted and supported by the forces of national renewal. What is happening in the various countries of the East goes hand in hand with our own negotiating positions in Vienna. Our aim is to conclude an agreement by the end of next year, and what is happening in the Warsaw Pact must contribute to the attainment of this agreement.

[Odinzov] So is radical arms reduction an obligatory path to achieve this renewal?

[Grinevskiy] Obviously, but, as I have already said, it is not enough to reduce tanks, guns, aircraft. These are technical measures that in turn can and must only become credible if accompanied by political guarantees within a new security context that will in fact enable us to transfer the resources currently absorbed by the military sector to economic development.

We want an accord that is thus absolutely impossible to circumvent, monitored, verified, and stabilized. To cite two simple examples, it is essential to agree on specific guarantees against any potential transfer of American troops from the United States to Europe and, of course, of Soviet troops stationed beyond the Urals. We do not want it to be possible in the future to redeploy a certain category of tanks on whose reduction we may agree now, just because technological developments permit a conversion of them that does not objectively violate the terms of the accord.

[Odinzov] What effect would a reunification of the two Germanies have on the negotiations? Do you believe that it is possible with these negotiations at their present stage and with the current changes in East-West relations?

[Grinevskiy] I doubt that a "reunification of the two Germanies" is currently on the agenda for Europe—the whole of Europe. I do not believe that the process of

political, social, and economic regeneration under way in both East and West is ready yet to broach the matter of this reunification.

Consider a moment the European situation with which we are all very well acquainted. Neither France nor Britain, to cite two cases at random—nobody in Europe wants a reunification. It is just that nobody says so openly—or they do so with the wile and shrewdness of a Francois Mauriac: "I love Germany so much that I want two of them."

[Odinzov] Mr Ambassador, do you believe that the coming Bush-Gorbachev summit will influence the course of the Vienna negotiations and what is happening in East Europe?

[Grinevskiy] I am a diplomat by profession, not a soothsayer. I can say that I am sure that disarmament and the situation in the East will be the key issues of this meeting and so it should also produce strong boosts to these negotiations.

I believe that the summit will further clarify the future course of the negotiations, the specification of the mechanism—its political part—needed to accelerate the negotiations. For our part, we would like to implement the proposal for a meeting of heads of state and government for the signing of the accords, to be preceded by a meeting of foreign ministers on a date still to be set, but in any case in the early months of the year.

Here in Vienna we are now agreed on many points, but there are problems and issues requiring solutions and, above all, decisions that are political, rather than military. Our delegations' work consists mainly of reducing the divergences and differences of position as far as possible so that the final decision can then be made at the political level, by the foreign ministers.

Just to cite another practical example, I am referring, for instance, to the difficulty that we are experiencing on a reduction of the American forces within NATO and of the Soviet forces within the Warsaw Pact, to the inclusion among these "foreign' forces, as we call them, also of the French, Canadian, and British units, which total 160,000 men, 16 divisions, in such a small area as Central Europe.

It is not easy to reach agreement in the context of military negotiations, but the problem certainly seems solvable in political terms.

[Odinzov] But in fact these forces deployed in West Germany and Berlin are there on the basis of precise political accords and are the result of the failure to convene a European peace conference.

[Grinevskiy] Personally, I am not in the least opposed to the convening of such a conference but, as things stand, at present it is only possible to set a limit on these forces' presence in Europe, on their mobility, and this would itself be an important decision that could actually facilitate a meeting on peace some time in the future.

[Odinzov] Before meeting with Bush, Gorbachev is to pay an official visit to Italy. Is it possible that there could be some link between the two conversations, in view of the proximity of the meetings?

[Grinevskiy] In general terms, yes, definitely, because both conversations are connected with and represent the continuation of a single political line—our own line. While with Bush attention will be turned to the totality of the issues now demanding our governments' attention, the visit to Italy will be very important from the viewpoint of European politics.

Among other things, it must not be forgotten that, while the meeting on the ships will be devoted mainly to conceptual issues and their political management, discussions in Rome will be on specific issues, the European situation, and how Italy and the Soviet Union are increasingly involved in it.

During my visit to Rome last week I broached with the people I met a number of issues, especially those of disarmament or related issues, in an attempt to smooth out certain differences of position.

Preceding the Mediterranean summit, the Rome talks will place particular emphasis on the joint interests and objectives of the European countries and the Soviet Union. I believe that Gorbachev's meetings with Italian political representatives will be of great interest from this viewpoint.

Arms Control Symposium in U.S. Ends

LD2011092889 Moscow TASS in English 0743 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash:

Issues of war and peace, national security, ways to lower the level of military rivalry, cuts in nuclear arms and military budgets, and relaxation of military tension in the world were the focus of attention at an international symposium which has ended in Washington.

The forum, on the subject "Science and Security Issues, the Development of Technology and the Arms Control Agenda," was organised by the American Association for the Advancement of Science and was attended by about 500 prominent experts from the United States, Canada, the Soviet Union, and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The participants in the symposium discussed various aspects of military policy and strategy in the nuclear age and reached a consensus on the ruinous consequences of nuclear war in modern conditions.

They emphasised the need to lower the level of armaments and armed forces in the spirit of new political thinking and pointed out the importance of dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union to promote progress at arms reduction talks.

Richard Garwin, a nuclear expert, called for abandoning the Stealth bomber development programme, pointing out that the development of a new generation of strategic nuclear-capable aircraft would only speed up the arms race.

He also favoured retaining the Soviet-U.S. ABM treaty, reaching agreement on strategic offensive arms, and ending the construction and deployment of the MX intercontinental ballistic missile.

The elimination of the nuclear weapons of the fleet of U.S. surface ships would make it possible to reduce the American and Soviet navies, Garwin said.

The renunciation of the obsolete policy of military confrontation would ensure headway in the process of disarmament and cooperation among nations, said Dennis Ross, an expert in the field of strategic forces.

The forthcoming Malta meeting betwen the Soviet and American presidents may play a big part in that. It will be of fundamental importance for the further development of cooperation between the two countries, he said.

Many participants in the discussion opposed the upgrading and increase in the arsenals of nuclear weapons, and supported the building of a safer world, a peaceful dialogue and mutual understanding between countries with different social systems.

General Says Arms Reductions on Schedule

LD1711211789 Moscow TASS in English 0948 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—"A large part of approximately 2,000 tanks scheduled for destruction this year has been already scrapped," according to a senior Soviet military official.

Colonel General Grigoriy Krivosheyev, Soviet General Staff Main Department chief, said that some of the tanks wil be turned into prime movers or will serve as fire-fighting, training and engineering vehicles.

"Some 400 tanks have already been converted for these purposes," he told TASS.

"The Soviet Union strictly follows its unilateral decision to reduce its Armed Forces by 500,000 men over the next two years and to reduce considerably its conventional arms," he said.

By November 20, there will be 7,120 tanks less Soviet tanks in Europe than at the beginning of this year. The number of artillery pieces will be reduced by some 3,000 and aircraft by 833 planes, he said.

Some 235,500 troops have already been withdrawn, the general said promising that this number will grow to 265,000 men.

The Soviet Union will continue its armed forces reductions in 1990 in keeping with its commitments, Krivosheyev assured.

SALT Talks Seen Bringing Warmer Relations

PM2011151189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[Gennadiy Vasilyev "Political Observer's Notes": "Toward a Secure World"]

[Text] Critically reappraising our history, we are sometimes rather ready to reject the past. Be it the country's domestic affairs or its foreign policy. Yet it was in this past, in the throes of struggle, that the present ripened and ideas which have now won universal recognition emerged. During those years the country took the first steps toward ridding mankind of the threat of nuclear annihilation.

That is how I would like to celebrate today's anniversary—20 years since the beginning of consultations in Helsinki between Soviet and U.S. experts on strategic offensive arms limitation. Some 2 and ½ years later these talks led to the signing of the first such documents in Moscow: The Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures With Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. Today, of these two documents which were dubbed as SALT I, the former—the ABM Treaty—is better known. It not only provided the conditions for the elaboration of SALT I and SALT II but is still an important condition for the successful elaboration of the treaty on a 50-percent reduction in USSR and U.S. strategic offensive arms which is under discussion today. The interim agreement has somewhat receded into the background, although, in limiting the number of the two countries' nuclear delivery vehicles, it played some role as a brake on the arms race.

That day, 20 years ago, a ray of hope appeared. People saw that ruling circles of the two superpowers were beginning to realize that, despite all the contradictions between the leaders of the military-political alliances, they could and should seek compromises, including in the military sphere, and strive for accords consonant with mutual interests and the interests of all peoples. The first step is difficult, but its importance lies precisely in the fact that it is the first. In retrospect, we can see definite milestones on the path toward a nonviolent and secure world. They are the SALT II Treaty, signed in 1979, and, of course, the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles—the first agreement effectively eliminating two classes of nuclear arms. The talks on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms are still continuing. The Vienna talks on reductions in conventional arms and armed forces are progressing successfully. Progress is continuing along a difficult path.

I believe that the fact that the atmosphere of relations between the two countries has itself changed is no less

important than the real accords. Despite temporary "chills," we have today long since abandoned the atmosphere of suspicion, wariness, and secrecy which, participants recollect, colored the first meetings between Soviet and U.S. experts in Helsinki. That is why, looking to the future of Soviet-U.S. relations, we formulate our task as follows: "To proceed from mutual understanding to collaboration."

Perfilyev, Gerasimov Hold News Briefing 20 Nov

Mulroney Visit

LD2011162489 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—There is every ground to expect that Soviet-Canadian talks in Moscow will bring relations between the two countries to a new stage of development, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

He emphasised that much importance is attached in the Soviet Union to the visit to the USSR by Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, which began today.

The spokesman said that the visit offers an excellent opportunity for the implementation of a rich potential of Soviet and Canadian interaction.

This is confirmed not only by the logic of the growing development of bilateral relations and cooperation between the USSR and Canada but also the general improvement of international relations, the spokesman said.

He said that the visit had a good start and that its vast programme is being successfully implemented.

Virtually the entire range of questions of Soviet-Canadian relations, and major global problems on whose solution the survival of humanity depends, East-West relations were discussed during the negotiations between Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov and Brian Mulroney.

Both sides noted that the Soviet Union and Canada can do a great deal for the further consolidation of constructive aspects in the solution of problems which humankind encounters on the threshold of the third millennium, Perfilyev said.

Perfilyev noted that bilateral agreements will be signed after the talks. Approximately the same number of inter-governmental documents as were signed by the USSR and Canada over the previous two decades are to be signed as a result of the visit, Perfilyev said.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Brian Mulroney will have a conversation in the Kremlin on Tuesday, Perfilyev added. He expressed the hope that the conversation will be a landmark opening new vistas for progress in Soviet-Canadian partnership and good-neighbourliness.

More on Ryzhkov-Mulroney Talks

LD2011201289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Gennadiy Ivanovich Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, spoke today in the USSR Foreign Ministry press center to Soviet and foreign journalists. He informed them about the results of the first day of the official visit of Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to the USSR. Comrade Gerasimov told them about the course of the negotiations with the Soviet leadership and the documents that were signed today. Here is an excerpt from his speech:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] Only 1 day and already there is such a large package of Soviet-Canadian agreements, which could be described as a successful continuation of the cooperation of our two countries. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, opening the meeting, also expressed hope for the fruitfulness of these negotiations. He noted that there are many topics for an exchange of views. By the way, it was decided to hold questions of foreign policy until tomorrow, to the meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and to the meeting of the foreign ministers. There is enormous potential in our relations, and in our opinion they are not as yet being completely utilized. There is a lot of scope for activity by the business circles. Many business representatives have actually come, which we welcomed.

For his side, Mr Mulroney noted that our relations are developing successfully. Of course, this is a special visit, because it is at the highest level. To continue this trend, Mr Mulroney has invited Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov to pay an official visit to Canada. [end recording]

Cheney Announcement on Reductions

LD2011164889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 20 Nov (TASS)—The report of the plans announced by U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney for a reduction in the U.S. military budget are being positively appraised in the Soviet Union, a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stated at a briefing here today.

As is known, the USSR earlier announced that it is planned to reduce the overall sum of Soviet defense expenditure (R77.3 billion) by 14.2 percent in the course of 1989-90, and by 1995 to reduce the ratio of defense expenditure in the Soviet Union's national revenue 1.5 - 2 times.

Thus, noted Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Administration, for the first time both the Soviet and U.S. sides have spoken about forthcoming reductions in their military budgets. The implementation of these plans would help to break the trend of previous years when military budgets were not reduced, but in the West decisions were adopted about their annual increase. The USSR, the Foreign Ministry spokesman stated, believes that this shows that the new political thinking is gaining increasingly firm positions in the world, and the arms race is gradually slowing down.

Vadim Perfilyev expressed confidence that the cause of strengthening international security and disarmament would benefit from a reduction in military budgets. Such a development of events meets the interests of the peoples of both the USSR and the United States, and of the whole world, he stressed.

Thatcher Remark on Socialism

LD2011171389 Moscow TASS in English 1651 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—"Socialism is changing, but its future shape will be, naturally, determined by the peoples of the socialist countries," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

Commenting on Margaret Thatcher's speech in Guildhall on Eastern European developments, Perfilyev remarked that the British prime minister expressed her views on issues of the peoples' historical choice.

Thatcher said that socialism is on the decline and that it suffered a defeat in its historical battle with capitalism.

One could have cited many previous statements by the prime minister about the need to strengthen stability in Europe, act with responsibility and guarantee peoples the right to free and democratic development, the spokesman said.

"Only this approach is sensible in present-day conditions," Perfilyev pointed out. "the attempts to launch ideological attacks on socialism as a form of state system chosen by millions upon millions of people in Eastern Europe are clearly at odds with today's reality."

Arms Talks Progress

LD2011172289 Moscow TASS in English 1703 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—Addressing a briefing here today a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed the hope that the forthcoming Soviet-American summit in the Mediterranean will give a fresh impetus to the efforts of both sides at the talks on strategic offensive arms.

Vadim Perfilyev noted that several days ago marked the twentieth anniversary of the first Soviet-American talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear arms. The Soviet Union regards the treaty on 50-per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms being worked out in Geneva as an important milestone in the process that began in 1969. Simultaneously it is a starting point for further progress in the limitation of strategic offensive arms, Perfilyev said.

He noted that the SALT-1 Treaty, the 1972 treaty on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems, the SALT-2 treaty and the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles were also important milestones in the talks.

He said these documents created a legal foundation for strategic stability.

Regarding the work in Geneva on a treaty on strategic defensive arms limitations, the spokesman said that the Soviet side wishes the treaty to be ready for next year's Soviet-American summit.

He believes that ridding the world of the nuclear menace concerns not only the Soviet Union and the U.S. Other nuclear states should be involved in the process at subsequent stages, after Soviet and American strategic offensive arms are cut by half, Perfilyev said.

EEC Cooperation With GDR, E. Europe

LD2011225789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Today at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center there was a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists on current questions of international politics. In his address at the briefing Comrade Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, in particular assessed the meeting of heads of states and governments of the European Economic Community which took place a few days ago in Paris. Here is an excerpt of his address:

[Begin Perfilyev recording] At the meeting an attempt was made to coordinate in a preliminary way the policy of the EEC toward socialist countries in the conditions of the restructuring processes taking place in them. [passage omitted]

In Paris there was obviously a preliminary discussion of the problems of cooperation with East Europe which will obviously be examined in more detail in Strasbourg at the session of the European Council at the level of heads of state and government of EEC countries. That will be on 8-9 December. However, it is already clear now that the ideas put forward by the Soviet Union for the creation of a common European home are acquiring an increasingly firmer outline, owing to the efforts made by the leading West European countries. The guarantees which Francois Mitterrand wants to receive on the socialist countries have long since been laid down in the concept of perestroyka and the renewal of socialism.

However, the fact that an ambitious plan for instance, is being developed by the EC Commission to undertake rapid and diplomatic efforts in order, I quote, to grant to the GDR the status of an associated member of the EEC in any form whatsoever, gives rise to some surprise. I believe that it would not be a bad thing if, first of all, the opinion of the GDR Government on this account were elicited. All questions concerning the relations of the socialist countries with West Europe should, of course, be resolved jointly, in Moscow, Berlin, Warsaw, Budapest, and other capitals of socialist states, and by no means unilaterally. [End recording]

TASS Roundup

LD2011210589 Moscow TASS in English 2030 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—There is every ground to expect that Soviet-Canadian talks in Moscow will bring relations between the two countries to a new stage of development, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

He emphasised that much importance is attached in the Soviet Union to the visit to the USSR by Canadian Prime-Minister Brian Mulroney, which began today.

Virtually the entire range of questions of Soviet-Canadian relations, and major global problems on whose solution the survival of humanity depends, East-West relations were discussed during the negotiations between Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov and Brian Mulroney.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Brian Mulroney will have a conversation in the Kremlin on Tuesday, Perfilyev added. He expressed the hope that the conversation will be a landmark opening new vistas for progress in Soviet-Canadian partnership and good-neighbourliness.

Plans to cut the U.S. military budget, announced by U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney, are welcomed in the Soviet Union, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told the briefing.

The Soviet Union had earlier announced plans to cut the total sum of its defence spending.

The realization of these plans would make it possible to overcome the tendency of past years when no military budget cuts were deemed possible and decisions to increase defence spending were taken annually in the West.

Perfilyev noted that several days ago marked the twentieth anniversary of the first Soviet-American talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear arms. The Soviet Union regards the treaty on 50-per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms being worked out in Geneva as an important milestone in the process that began in 1969. Simultaneously it is a starting point for further progress in the limitation of strategic offensive arms, Perfilyev said.

Regarding the work in Geneva on a treaty on strategic defensive arms limitations, the spokesman said that the Soviet side wishes the treaty to be ready for next year's Soviet-American summit.

Despite some new ingredients, the resolution on Cambodia subjected to the vote at the 44th session of the United Nations General Assembly clearly lags behind the spirit and level of mutual understanding achieved at informal meeting in Jakarta and the Paris Conference, Perfilyev said.

Perfilyev called the confirmation of the need to take new vigorous efforts to reach an all-embracing solution of the Cambodian problem the principal result of the consideration of the Cambodian issue in New York.

The Soviet spokesman announced the Soviet intention to take a constructive and productive part in the third United Nations Industrial Development Organization conference.

The Soviet Union, Perfilyev stressed, favours strengthening the practical work of that organization and considers that it still has to have its say on a number of important questions, including conversion.

Of special importance is the adjustment of international cooperation in the field of environmental protection against harmful production effects.

To accomplish all these tasks, a non-confrontational approach, that takes into account the interests of all groups of countries, is needed.

This will be the key approach by which the Soviet delegation will be guided at the conference, the Soviet spokesman stressed.

More on Shevardnadze Meeting Women Journalists

LD1811232989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow today Comrade Shevardnadze received members of the "33 and 1" International Club of Women Journalists. [video shows Shevardnadze sitting among a group of women]

[Begin [Shevardnadzerecording] Today's meeting is an unusual one. I think....[changes thought] I became interested and asked the comrades, and there has been nothing like it. [end recording]

[Reporter T. Mitkova] [passage omitted: Mitkova mentions some of the questions asked] They did not, of course, manage to ask all 33 questions. But, those that were asked gave Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze an opportunity to touch not only on vital foreign policy affairs, but also to voice his attitude toward the serious problems that our perestroyka is now confronting. Diplomacy, like politics, is the art of the possible. But, what can we journalists do at the present time?

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] I consider all of you present at our meeting today to be most active participants in everything that is happening in the Soviet Union, and any article, any presentation, any objective report—and I stress: Objective, true report—going out from Moscow and other regions of our country to the whole world is tremendously important for us. [end recording]

Debates Continue in United Nations Committees

PM2011112989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Linnik dispatch: "United Nations: Difficult Workdays"]

[Text] New York, 13 Nov—Work is in full swing at the 44th UN General Assembly session: Debates are under way in committees, there is no reduction in the line of

speakers in the hall where plenary sittings are held, and the number of resolutions and initiatives under examination is rising.

Dozens of draft resolutions encompassing virtually the entire spectrum of disarmament subjects have been put forward in the First Committee (political questions and questions of security, including disarmament). Proposals on space and on chemical and bacteriological weapons, measures to ban nuclear tests, confidence-building measures, and demands from a number of developing states that sanctions be adopted in connection with Israel's continuing refusal to acknowledge International Atomic Energy Agency jurisdiction over its nuclear enterprises feature here. These are mostly joint resolutions supported in some cases by dozens of states; it is only rarely that one country acts as an initiator. In particular, the PRC has submitted an initiative urging the USSR and the United States to speed up bilateral talks aimed at radically reducing nuclear arsenals.

The First Committee approved an appeal from the UN General Assembly to all states (in particular, those having the largest military budgets) to invest funds in the World Disarmament Campaign fund. This proposal was adopted by 117 votes with 9 abstentions, including the United States.

In the course of the examination of a proposal to step up the United Nations' role in disarmament, U.S. representative M. Friedersdorf said that the UN Charter contains no reference to the United Nations' leading role in disarmament. Especially since a number of the initiatives submitted to the committee are completely outside the competence of the United Nations. A somewhat strange comment, particularly against the backdrop of the recent joint Soviet-U.S. resolution on strengthening the role of the United Nations. Debates on this resolution begin, incidentally, at the UN General Assembly plenary sittings next week.

The Third Committee (social and humanitarian questions and questions of culture) is examining a draft resolution on the social situation in the world. It particularly notes the critical situation with regard to social questions in Africa that has taken shape as a result of structural imbalance, the weaknesses of the African economy, and "hostile economic encirclement." The United States was the only country to object to this draft. This draft convention, which was submitted by Poland's representatives, is expected to be adopted 20 November—the 30th anniversary of the adoption of the UN Declaration on Children's Rights. Speaking on this question in the course of the debates, A.A. Likhanov, chairman of the Soviet Children's Fund, said, in particular:

"Strengthening the idea of human rights, the convention brings into circulation in the humanist world outlook children's political, economic, and social rights, which include the right to a name and citizenship, the right to enjoy parental concern, the right to maintain personal contacts with both parents, the right to recreation and amusement, the right to social security and access to information.... While welcoming and totally supporting the international convention, the Soviet public is concerned by the following: How we actually realize these rights that are so nobly enshrined. The first point is ratification, and we are sure that the USSR Supreme Soviet will ratify this convention with a sense of profound awareness. The second—and the most important point—is to bring domestic legislation into line with the legal norms of the international convention."

At the UN General Assembly plenary sittings there have been heated debates in the last few days about the policy of apartheid implemented by the RSA Government. In fact there was no debate in the direct sense of the word: The world community displays unanimity in its condemnation of the "cancerous tumor" of apartheid. On behalf of his government Australian representative P. Vilenskiy [name as transliterated] proposed, in particular, financing an independent agency which would study South Africa's financial ties with other countries. Condemning apartheid as a phenomenon, Israel's representative nevertheless justified his country's diplomatic and economic ties with South Africa and stressed their "insignificance." Evidently remembering that offense is the best defense, he called for South Africa's trading partners in Europe, America, Asia, the Arab world, and even the "Soviet bloc" to be sought out. According to him, South Africa has a total of 140 registered trading partners rather than 13, as certain UN documents indicate.

Speaking on behalf of the 12 EEC members, the French representative P.L. Blanc said that apartheid is an immoral system founded on a scandalous violation of basic human rights and freedoms.

The speakers stressed that the impending special UN General Assembly session on apartheid will provide impetus for the international community to adopt resolute joint measures to eliminate the existing loopholes for the South African regime, which justifies by its very existence the presence of racial discrimination in other parts of the world.

In short, the UN General Assembly is engaged in hard workdays. The problems facing mankind today are great. But the desire to resolve them is also great today within the United Nations.

Moscow Military Policy Conference Assessed

PM2111094589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Anichkin report: "Laboratory of New Thinking"]

[Text] What would happen if politicians, scientists, and military men were brought together around a single table and asked to seek a solution to problems toward which each one of these groups has its own approach? What would happen if the traditional mistrust between such diverse communities of people were multiplied by the

still existing mistrust between countries with different social systems and different foreign policy orientations?

This was precisely the situation deliberately created by the organizers of the scientific conference on "New Thinking and Military Policy" held this week in Moscow. It was attended by international authorities in the sphere of military policy and disarmament politics representing countries united in the opposed NATO and Warsaw Pact blocs. Such a forum has never before been held anywhere else. It was addressed by Professor B. Flickenstein (FRG), president of the International Sociological Association's "Army and Society" Committee; Professor C. Moskos (United States), president of the "Interuniversity Seminar on Armed Forces and Society"; W. Scheelen (The Netherlands), chairman of the European Committee "Army and Society"; and A. Bebler (Yugoslavia), vice president of the Political Sciences Association. Interesting reports were delivered by Soviet scientists Colonel General N. Kizyun, chief of the Military-Political Academy ("New Political Thinking in the Military Sphere"); Academician N. Moiseyev, author of the "nuclear winter" concept; and Generals N. Chervov and D. Volkogonov.

The new detente and the spirit of cooperation and peaceful coexistence which are becoming increasingly firmly established in international affairs have presented the military and politicians with totally unexpected problems. In fact universal priorities are now coming to the fore. Both we and our ideological partners are talking with growing confidence about the need to subordinate state interests to these priorities. But this is at the level of declarations of intent. National military doctrines have still not been brought in line with the situation in the world, which has seen a noticeable easing of tension. The need to elaborate an international military doctrine was noted at the conference. Civilized states must build their armies on identical principles. But is this possible?

"Such a task would be absolutely unrealistic without the strengthening of confidence and mutual understanding," Major General A. Chaldymov, chairman of the USSR Philosophical Society's "Problems of War and Peace" Section, said. "Even while we utter nice phrases, deep down inside we still maintain mistrust."

The conference participants called on all political and military figures and scientists in all countries to concentrate their efforts on the quest for the best possible ways to attain as soon as possible the ideals of a nonviolent world.

Of course, the unique forum in Moscow became possible only as a result of the affirmation of the principles of new thinking in foreign policy. But the forum itself turned into a laboratory of new thinking.

Laverov Addresses UNIDO General Conference

LD2011230489 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Vienna November 20 TASS—The positive changes in world development, registered in recent years, have notably improved the global situation and opened the way to the establishment of a more just international order based on new political thinking, the leader of Soviet delegation Nikolay Laverov said, addressing the third session of UNIDO's [United Nations Industrial Development Organization] general conference here today. The present situation, he said, substantially enlarges the role of the United Nations which has become a symbol and at the same time an important instrument of the development of effective international cooperation.

Unequal development of world economy, the mounting indebtedness of the developing nations, imposition of protectionist barriers in foreign trade are making ever more imperative the adoption by the international community of measures to remove obstacles in the way of the progress of Third World countries, Laverov said. The Soviet delegation, he said, praises UNIDO's activity in elaborating cooperation in the field of industrial development, in broadening the direct business links between the organisation's member countries, including at the level of indivudal enterprises, firms and research institutions. Also deserving attention is the setting up in individual countries of UNIDO centres for investment and international cooperation. One such centre is being set up in the USSR.

The Soviet representative gave a positive assessment to UNIDO's activity in the setting up of mixed enterprises, the spread of advanced technologies, including those in the fields of environmental protection, modernising medium-size and small-scale production, establishing free industrial and economic zones as well as international research centres for inter-disciplinary fields such as biotechnology and gene engineering.

Laverov pointed out that these areas were of practical interest to all groups of countries, including the USSR.

The USSR's cooperation with UNIDO, Laverov said in conclusion, is based on an agreement signed in 1986 and covers such fields as industrial planning, a technological programme, training of personnel, new forms of international industrial cooperation and a system of advisory services. A further deepening and broadening of joint activities, the Soviet delegate said, is in the interests of all the UNIDO member countries.

United States & Canada

Secretary Cheney's Budget Initiative Hailed

PM2011185989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Dispatch by IZVESTIYA Political Observer S. Kondrashov under the rubric "Event and Opinion": "Pentagon Cuts Spending..."]

[Text] New York—The favorable logic of the development of Soviet-U.S. relations that has typified the past few years was bound, sooner or later, to lead to what was reported in Washington Friday 17 November. A man with a reputation as a conservative, whose job is to maintain and augment U.S. military might, ordered considerable cuts in Pentagon spending. We already know many examples of U.S. conservatives changing their approaches and views under the influence of the changing international situation produced above all by perestroyka in the Soviet Union; one such example is Zbigniew Brzezinski. In this case it was U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney.

Thus, Cheney ordered that the branches of the U.S. Armed Forces under his command draw up plans for cutting their previously projected military spending by $180 billion. This looks impressive, although the details are not quite clear as yet. It is planned to cut the budgets for 3 years—1992 through 1994. In the next fiscal year, preparations for which begin in Congress in January, a fall in military appropriations is planned. Subsequently these will be cut in real terms (that is, taking account of inflation) by 5 percent each year. In this connection the local press is recalling that, when he took office comparatively recently, President Bush proposed not a reduction but an increase in the Pentagon budget—albeit it a moderate increase of 1-2 percent per year. Now there is no doubt that the defense secretary, in squeezing military spending, is not acting against the President's wishes but in agreement with him and his current course.

The new course reflects several points. First, after its initial hesitation, the Bush Administration has formed quite a firm opinion that perestroyka in the USSR is not a breathing space or a regrouping of forces before the next stage of "Soviet expansion." According to Cheney, the possibility of a Soviet-U.S. military conflict is now at its lowest point since 1945. His order was directly preceded by the publication of a new CIA assessment which recognized the fact of Soviet military spending cuts.

Even before this the doubting Thomas pose had ceased to be popular among the lawmakers on Capitol Hill. Second, the events in the GDR and the Soviet Union's positive reaction to them were irrefutable evidence of the socialist countries' increasingly wide-ranging movement down the path of democratization (and this path is entirely to the liking of Washington and its allies). Third, U.S. economic problems may seem insignificant when compared with ours, but they do exist and severely affect people living below the poverty line, without roofs over their heads, or in fear of drug-crazed muggers.

Moreover, under the onslaught of its allies rather than its potential adversaries, the United States has been conceding many international economic positions. For instance, the purchase of the famed Rockefeller Center complex in downtown New York by a Japanese corporation was a recent symbol of national pride being hurt. U.S. stores, as always, have plenty of goods and products, but at the national level the permanent budget deficit sickness is taking its toll. And it is easier to treat it by using funds taken out of military programs than out of social programs. In short, the third point—which could easily have been put in first place—could be termed the imperatives of the United States' own perestroyka.

Growing public pressure is making itself felt. Americans believe that an era of peace is at hand. Meeting in Washington and New York with informed people, you can hear criticism of the Bush administration for going too slow, for underevaluating this turning point in the fate of the postwar world, and for failing to grasp the emerging opportunities.

Finally, I think it was no accident that the reports about the $180 billion which is planned to be sliced off the Pentagon cake in the next few years appeared on the eve of the Soviet-U.S. meeting near Malta. Moscow is being sent a signal that the ice has been broken in the most frozen sector. In response to the order to submit savings plans, the U.S. Air Force is reporting expeditiously, albeit in preliminary form, on the intention to close 15 bases, to extend the Stealth bomber purchase schedule, to cut purchases of F-16 fighters, and "to retire" some B-52 bombers and Midgetman-2 intercontinental missiles. There is also talk of the possible disbandment of several Army divisions, the withdrawal of two or three aircraft carriers from service, and so forth. Since more than 60 percent of spending goes to conventional arms, the most tangible savings will clearly be sought in that area. Nor are new proposals ruled out on mutual cuts in U.S. and Soviet forces stationed in foreign territories in Europe which would go further than those proposed by Bush at the May NATO Council session.

As for the measures that have just been announced, they are unilateral and come a year after the unilateral Soviet cuts announced by M.S. Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly in New York last December. For a year people from Washington have taken a good hard look to make sure above all that Moscow's words did not differ from its actions.

The proposed cut in U.S. military spending does not go as far as our cut did. Whereas Soviet military spending in 1989-1990 is being reduced by almost 15 percent, U.S. military spending in this period will remain virtually unchanged. Whereas Moscow has officially stated that, given a favorable development of the international situation, the Soviet Union will cut its military budget by a

factor of 1.5-2, Washington has set more modest targets for the time being. Nonetheless the ice has been broken. From the mutual understanding reached in recent years the two powers are moving toward reciprocal action [vzaimodeystviye], even when such action is unilateral and, as it were, voluntary. A kind of conversion is taking place in which the two countries are involved: The relations of the plowshare are replacing the relations of the sword. The main question is how, at what pace, and to what extent this cooperation will develop.

A few things should become clear at the meeting off the coast of Malta. The events of November make this meeting increasingly necessary and promising.

Cheney Explains Defense Cut Rationale

PM2011193989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "U.S. Defense Secretary's Opinion"]

[Text] New York, 20 Nov—U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney confirmed Sunday that he has ordered plans to be drawn up for cuts in the Pentagon budget over the next 5 years. Speaking on NBC-TV's "This Week with David Brinkley," the head of the military department gave two reasons for the move. "The likelihood of a global conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, or between NATO and the Warsaw Pact is probably lower now than at any time since the end of World War II," he said. "Viewing the changes in East Europe,... we cannot fail to come to the conclusion that this will have a definite long-term impact on the security situation in Europe. And I think it is quite possible to contemplate over the next few years that we may indeed be able to reduce the level of our force deployments in West Europe."

The second reason for this decision, judging by Cheney's words, is the inevitability of cuts in Pentagon spending owing to the U.S. federal budget deficit.

The defense secretary admitted that the Soviet Union has cut its spending on conventional arms and armed forces. At the same time, he claimed that the USSR is continuing to modernize its strategic forces. That is why, Cheney stated, "for the foreseeable future... we will need a reliable strategic potential."

According to the Pentagon chief, he will submit his recommendations on the military budget for the next 5 years to President Bush in January.

U.S. 'Interference' in Nagorno-Karabakh Hit

LD2011154689 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] The Soviet Foreign Ministry has protested to Washington over the resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh adopted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The resolution is viewed as an attempt at flagrant interference in Soviet internal affairs. Yuriy Solton comments.

Some may feel the protest is too strong, but it is justified. The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous region within Azerbaijan, and inhabited by Armenians for the most part, is complicated indeed, and very delicate. The people living there sharply respond to any statement on the problems they are facing. The Nagorno-Karabakh situation exploded repeatedly after careless statements made (?in) the USSR Supreme Soviet. The price of statements, as we can see, is high.

Since there have been signs of settlement in the autonomous region, the attitude toward the events there must be careful indeed. What about the Senate resolution? It sets two nationalities at loggerheads and dictates to this country. Can't it provoke one more flare-up of tension and expose both Armenians and Azerbaijanis to more suffering? When Armenia was rocked with an earthquake last year the Americans acted nobly. They provided disinterested assistance. But can outside interference help the Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians solve their problems? The Senate committee, with all its likes or dislikes for the people of Nagorno-Karabakh, can hardly cope with nationalities problems in this country.

Any claims or demands to the Soviet Union are hardly relevant. A wish to teach lessons to nations clashes with what's known as the new political thinking.

Supreme Soviet Group Raps Senate Resolution

PM2111114189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report on a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee concerning the resolution adopted by the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Nagorno-Karabakh: "Session Held"]

[Text] At a session on 20 November, the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee adopted the following statement:

The members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs have expressed their indignation and regret in connection with the resolution adopted by the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh. Whatever motives may have guided the American senators, it is essential to recognize that this resolution is unacceptable interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union in the spirit of the 'cold war.'

The members of our committee, like all the people's deputies of the USSR, are well aware of all the acuteness and tension in the situation connected with Nagorno-Karabakh. The attention of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government has been drawn to this issue.

Settling it demands a great sense of responsibility, consideration, and special tact. In such circumstances, interference from outside is misplaced, discourteous, and capable only of leading to a further destabilization of the situation. There can also be seen in the resolution adopted by the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee an attempt to internationalize this internal conflict, which goes counter to the norms of law and international intercourse.

We believe that it is clear to the U.S. senators, as to the people's deputies of the USSR, that development of all around cooperation between the USSR and the United States can be founded on respect for the complete equality and sovereignty of both states, and the unconditional rejection of imposing one side's solutions onto internal issues of the lives of other peoples.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs, manifesting its profound interest in preserving and increasing everything that has been achieved in Soviet-U.S. relations with such labor and with joint, strenuous efforts, expresses the hope that our U.S. colleagues will show a reasonable and well thought out approach in accordance with the demands of the new times.

Bush Cited on Upcoming Meeting With Gorbachev

LD2111072889 Moscow TASS in English 0713 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 21 TASS—"We are living in exciting times... for the potential for peace and reduced tensions has never been better," U.S. President George Bush said in Providence, Rhode Island, on Monday.

He said his forthcoming meeting with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev off Malta's shores early in December would be "an historic meeting".

"I think it's an important meeting, because who possibly have predicted [as received] the dynamic change that is taking place in Eastern Europe, he said.

"I want to go there. It is simply I do not want the great United States and the Soviet Union to be like two ships passing in the dark," the President noted.

Speaking at a dinner, held to raise money for the election campaign of House member Claudine Schneider also on Monday, the President said; "I will go to Malta to continue our dialogue, meeting with President Gorbachev. But as I work with him it is very important that American and Soviet leaders at all levels are involved in frank and meaningful dialogue".

"I am looking forward to this meeting with President Gorbachev," he said. "This trip to Malta ...is to try to understand as best I can the fantastic changes that are taking place, the dynamic changes that are taking place in Eastern Europe and inside the Soviet Union," the President said and underlined he would be "prudent and cautious".

Bush To Address Nation Before Malta Meeting

LD2111092889 Moscow TASS in English 0745 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 21 TASS—President Bush will address the nation from his residence in Camp David on Wednesday, November 22, in the run-up to the Soviet-American shipboard summit off the coast of Malta on December 2 and 3.

The President will be spending Thanksgiving - the United States national holiday - in Camp David and his speech will be broadcast over TV and radio across America.

This will be Bush's second direct address to the nation over radio and TV since he took office. He first addressd the nation on September 5, launching an all-out war on drugs.

After the summit, Bush will stop over in Brussels to inform NATO allies about the outcome of his talks with President Gorbachev, according to White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater.

The opening of the Berlin Wall and fast-moving democratic reforms in Eastern Europe will be high on the summit agenda, according the ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency.

NEW YORK TIMES East Europe Reports Hit

LD2011193789 Moscow TASS in English 1819 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—By TASS Political News Analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

The radical changes underway in East European countries continue to attract attention in the West. Objective politicians and mass media note with justification that, although the manifestations in different countries vary, the processes are similar in that they are natural and historically conditioned and their goal is democratisation and the renovation of socialism.

Reforming its society and drawing on the potential of the socialist system, each East European country operates as a sovereign state making its own choice.

Against this backdrop, Western Sovietologists who attempt to present the changes as instigated "from one centre" look especially out of step.

I will refer you to two articles in THE NEW YORK TIMES. One alleges that the USSR "has warned" Czechoslovakia that "further procrastination" in the implementation of the political changes may lead to serious complications.

Another says that Moscow has lodged resolute protest with the East German Government over the opening of the Berlin Wall.

As officials in Moscow told TASS, such allegations are groundless. The Soviet Union supports the positive changes under way in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, which are within the spirit of the Helsinki Accords and the concept of the common European home.

But the Soviet Union has never arrogated itself the right of "coordinating" these changes. The nature, pace and depth of the reforms are decided by each state as a matter of free choice.

We are opposed to interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign states, as was, incidentally, unequivocally emphasised quite recently by Eduard Shevardnadze during his meetings and conversations with the French foreign minister.

One wonders why THE NEW YORK TIMES (and other newspapers for that matter) should distort the clear position of the USSR? Is it a tribute to anachronistic stereotypes or a propaganda ploy by certain circles in the West wishing to cash in on processes underway in Eastern Europe?

Be that as it may, it is difficult to tout such false versions and pass them off as the cautious and responsible approach urged today by practically all sober-minded politicians in the West, including the United States.

Admiral Crowe Upbeat on East-West Relations

PM2011161789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Optimistic Assessment"]

[Text] New York, 17 Nov—Admiral William Crowe, former chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, who retired recently, has given an optimistic assessment of the future of East-West relations.

Speaking in Philadelphia to representatives of the local branch of the Council on International Relations, Crowe spoke highly of M.S. Gorbachev's political activity. The Soviet leader, he stressed, is a "sincere proponent of fundamental changes" in the Soviet Union and is endeavoring to lessen military confrontation in Europe. "I believe that we must applaud Gorbachev's efforts and wish him success," he emphasized.

The admiral expressed confidence that the Soviet leadership will firmly follow its current line aimed at reducing the USSR Armed Forces and relaxing tension, above all on the European Continent.

Crowe indicated that the threat of an East-West military conflict in Europe, which has been with us for 40 years, has ceased to be a reality. However, the Soviet Union will remain a "great military power" in the future and the United States must take this fact into consideration. He stated that he sees no prospects of NATO's disbandment in the immediate future but noted that this bloc's functions and significance will change with time. In the coming years, he said, the number of U.S. troops on European territory will obviously be considerably reduced and this will undoubtedly ease the burden of the Washington administration's financial expenditure. "I can predict that the activity of the U.S. Armed Forces abroad will be considerably restricted in the future both owing to budgetary constraints and as a result of restrictive political factors," Crowe stressed.

Secretary Cheney Profiled, 'Ambition' Claimed

PM2011165389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Unattributed article under the rubric "Familiar and Unfamiliar Faces": "The Pentagon Chief"]

[Text] "I will be giving up politics." These words were spoken by the present U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney soon after his arrival in the Pentagon. Today it can probably be claimed with considerable certainty that he was rather hasty when making that statement. Cheney has joined battle with Congress in the debates on reducing expenditures on a series of weapons and has energetically advocated Pentagon involvement in the popular antinarcotics policy being pursued by the present administration.

Coming from an ordinary family—his father was employed in animal feed procurement—Cheney loves to emphasize that he "remembers where he came from." He is happy to visit inexpensive restaurants with friends and misses no occasion to describe the impression this makes on other patrons. He is upset by the external trappings of power and was horrified by the 13-strong bodyguard that accompanied him and J. Baker on a recent fishing trip.

True enough, many people in Washington believe that this demonstrative simplicity conceals a profound conservatism and considerable ambition. Cheney today is one of the people closest to the president. He is very cautious and secretive: Until the very last moment, Cheney kept secret the news that he had been offered the top Pentagon job, after the Senate rejected John Tower's nomination, even from his wife, in whom he usually confides the most important news. It is thought that, if need be, Bush could name Cheney as vice presidential candidate in the 1992 election. But many people believe that, under certain circumstances, Cheney would be in a position to promote his own presidential candidacy in the future...

Canada's Brian Mulroney on Official Visit

Welcomed by Ryzhkov, Shevardnadze

LD2011115289 Moscow TASS in English 1115 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—Prime Minister Martin Brian Mulroney of Canada arrived in Moscow today for an official visit.

At Vnukovo airport Mulroney and his wife were met at the ramp of the plane by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and his wife, and by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

The Canadian prime minister and his wife were also greeted by Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Gusev, Soviet ministers Konstantin Katushev and Mikhail Shkabardnya, by Mikhail Nenashev and Nikolai Rusak, chairmen of USSR state committees, by Vladimir Malkevich, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Aleksey Rodionov, Soviet ambassador to Canada, and by other officials.

Among the welcoming party were Vernon George Turner, Canadian ambassador to the Soviet Union, and diplomatic staff of the embassy.

The state flags of Canada and the Soviet Union were hoisted at the airport and a guard of honour consisting of Moscow garrison troops was lined up on the tarmac.

A band played the national anthems of the two countries.

Ryzhkov and Mulroney reviewed the guard of honour.

The welcoming ceremony ended with the guard of honour's march-past.

A motorcade escorted by motorcycle outriders rode through streets and squares that were decked up with the state flags of the two countries.

Begins Talks With Ryzhkov

LD2011143689 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—Today the Canadian prime minister, Martin Mulroony's visit to Moscow started with talks with Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov in the Grand Kremlin Palace.

The talks during the visit are expected to focus on the greater utilisation of the bilateral potential for cooperation.

Ecological ties between the USSR and Canada are expected to receive a new dimension. In-depth discussions are expected to cover Soviet-Canadian trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

Attends Kremlin Dinner

LD2011203389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1840 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 20 Nov (TASS)—A dinner was given on behalf of the USSR Government in the Great Kremlin Palace today in honor of Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his wife. Canadian officials accompanying him on his trip were also present.

Present on the Soviet side were Nikolay Ryzhkov and his wife; Eduard Shevardnadze; Aleksandr Yakovlev; leaders of a number of ministries and departments; and other officials.

Nikolay Ryzhkov and Brian Mulroney made speeches at the dinner.

The dinner took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Ryzhkov Speech at Dinner

LD2011220289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1900 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 20 Nov, (TASS)—Today a dinner was given in the Great Kremlin Palace on behalf of the Government of the USSR in honor of Brian Mulroney, prime minister of Canada, and his spouse.

J. Clark, minister for external relations of Canada, and other Canadian officials, attended with the guest.

Present on the Soviet side were N.I. Ryzhkov and his spouse, E.A. Shevardnadze, A.N. Yakovlev, members of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, USSR people's deputies, the leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and other officials.

N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, delivered a speech.

Speech by N.I. Ryzhkov.

On behalf of the Soviet Government I cordially greet the lofty Canadian guests. The present meeting with you, Mr Prime Minister, is significant alone for the fact that this is the first visit by a head of government of Canada to the Soviet Union in almost 2 decades. In underlining this prolonged pause, I would like to express confidence that such contacts can be close in the future, in terms of both time and deeds. This is all the more so since our countries are neighbors; and as Soviet and Canadian sports enthusiasts have proved, we can even visit one another on skis.

The trends which are developing in Soviet-Canadian relations constitute an important component part of the positive trends which shape present-day world politics—trends toward confidence-building and greater mutual understanding, and toward the expansion of constructive interaction between states, regardless of differences

in ideology and methods of organizing socioeconomic life, or of adherence to different military-political alliances.

The beneficial changes in international affairs are organically connected with perestroyka, with the new political thinking, the core of which was the recognition of the priority of common human values and the freedom of peoples to choose the paths of their own development. Our aim is to make life on this planet more secure, to open up a wide expanse for peaceful cooperation and to ensure the mutual enrichment of peoples by each other's spiritual values and cultural traditions.

The Soviet Union welcomes Canada's active policy in world affairs. We are convinced that supplementary possibilities are opening up today to deepen dialogue and to arrange the practical interaction of the USSR and Canada on many points of global agenda. I will mention just a few of them. Both countries come out actively in favor of limiting armaments, and of preventing military rivalry. They are participants in the Helsinki process which today is taking on a new quality. We take as our starting point the fact that Canada is called upon to play an active role in the matter of constructing a common European home. I think that the renewal of contacts in the military field between the USSR and Canada—and there is already an accord on this point—will serve not only the growth of confidence in bilateral relations, but also a larger scale aim: the formation of a new model for mutual relations between the North Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Treaty, aimed at a political dialogue between theM. There are, in our opinion, good prospects for expanding the interaction of the USSR and Canada in the framework of the United Nations Organization and in solving the most pressing regional problems—all the more so since Canada has now become one of the nonpermanent members of the Security Council.

It must be said that relations between our countries have developed on the whole in a stable way in the last decades. But we are still far from having a situation where the bilateral potential for cooperation has been effected on a wide scale.

For all their differences, there is a lot in common between the USSR and Canada, resulting from the similarity in their geographical position and their natural and climatic conditions. This in itself predisposes us toward a mutual inclination for cooperation. For a long time we were held apart by the endless spaces of the Arctic. Now awareness is growing of the fact that it does not so much hold us apart as hold us together.

Indeed, the theme of the Arctic was constantly present at our talks with Mr Mulroney, whatever we were discussing: ecology, economics, scientific-technical links, issues of strengthening trust and security.

Two years ago in Murmansk M.S. Gorbachev put forward a comprehensive program for the development of cooperation in the Arctic region. In a number of significant aspects it has been further supplemented and made more specific, taking account of experience which has been accumualted as well as the reaction of the Arctic states. Canada also has its vision of ways to resolve the problems of the Arctic. The prime minister expounded interesting thoughts about this during today's talks. We believe that they merit attention.

Such reciprocal and mutual concern for the problems of the Arctic can only be welcomed. The Arctic countries bear a responsibility before the world community for cleanliness and order in this unique region. Let us strive so that the joint efforts of the Soviet Union, Canada, the northern European states, and the United States of America are in line with this aim, while at the same time contributing to the preservation of man's environment on a planet-wide scale.

Ecology is increasingly coming to the fore as an important and independent sphere of Soviet-Canadian cooperation. We expect that ecological mutual ties between the USSR and Canada will acquire a new dimension as a result of the current talks. This includes both cooperation in the sphere of nature conservation technologies and the study of joint measures to correct the damage which has been inflicted upon the environment.

There was an in-depth discussion on economic affairs. There are grounds to hope that, in the conditions of Soviet perestroyka, we shall succeed through our joint efforts in galvanising Soviet-Canadian commercial-economic and scientific-technical cooperation, which clearly does not match either the demands of the time or the possibilities and requirements of the USSR and Canada. In any case, in both countries, by all appearances, an understanding has become ripe that the time for words has passed and the time for action has come. Evidence of this is also provided by the foundation during recent days of Canadian-Soviet Business Council and the arrival in our country of more than 200 representatives of the Canadian business world. We wish them success and fruitful work in the field of mutually beneficial cooperation.

There is a full-blooded development of Soviet-Canadian ties on such a key area for us as agriculture. On the assets side, here is a whole range of joint projects which are in a stage of their implementation or study. Nature and geography are already dictating an insistent need for the initiative approach to cooperation in this sphere, for a search for its new contemporary forms directed toward high results. We have a lot to learn from each other, a lot to work at together. Nothing, perhaps, characterizes the present dynamics of the Soviet-Canadian dialogue better than the fact that in the framework of the visit as many intergovernment agreements were signed as were concluded over the previous 18 years. They embrace a wide spectrum of the topical questions of today: cooperation in the Arctic, in the sphere of ecological preservation, in peaceful use of atomic energy, in studying and using space for peaceful purposes, in fighting the illegal manufacture and distribution of drugs, for the encouragement and mutual protection of capital investments,

prevention of incidents on the open sea, contacts between armed forces, and some others.

Of importance here, of course, is not only the quantitative side of the matter. Behind these agreements there stand real, vibrant ties between our countries at various levels: between the central governments and governmental departments and organizations, between the union republics of the USSR and the provinces of Canada, between firms, associations and enterprises, between scientific institutes, centers of education, between arts and sports figures, and finally, simply between citizens. And moreover, the latter is probably of universal significance. In the age of universal interdependence, the wider the contacts between people, the fuller relations between states.

The political results of the visit will be summed up in a declaration which, it appears to us, is a broad-scale document addressed to the future which reflects the similarity of our positions with Canada on many problems and a readiness to resolve them jointly in the spirit of the new political thinking.

I think that we have grounds for evaluating Prime Minister Mulroney's visit and the talks in Moscow as a major event in Soviet-Canadian relations and in world politics. We would like Soviet-Canadian cooperation to become a good example of fruitful interaction between West and East. There are the essential prerequisites for this.

In conclusion, N.I. Ryzhkov wished health to Prime Minister Mulroney and Mrs Mulroney, to other members of the Canadian delegation, to all those present, and also prosperity and wellbeing to the Canadian and Soviet peoples, and he spoke in favor of mutual understanding and good-neighborliness between the USSR and Canada.

Roundup of Talks, Accords

PM2111111289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 21 Nov 89 Second Edition pp 1, 4

[TASS report on the talks in Moscow: "Soviet-Canadian Talks"]

[Text] Talks between Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov and the Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney were held 20 November.

Taking part in them for the Soviet side were: E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister; N.P. Laverov and S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.A. Durasov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; and A.A. Rodionov, USSR ambassador to Canada. Participating for the Canadian side were J. Clark, Canadian foreign minister; V.G. Turner, Canadian ambassador to the USSR; and other officials accompanying the prime minister.

Ryzhkov positively appraised the progress in Soviet-Canadian relations over recent years. He noted that the participation of the USSR and Canada in multilateral processes, above all in the European process, imparts special importance to bilateral ties and contracts and results in a new quality of political dialogue at various levels, and between the leaders of the two countries.

During the examination of topical international problems an identity emerged in the sides' conceptual understanding of the modern world as an interdependent community of states. The main ideas in Canada's policy of constructive internationalism coincide with the Soviet Union's foreign policy initiatives in the spirit of new political thinking.

Viewing their relations in the context of the positive changes which characterize the present crucial stage of world development, the Soviet Union and Canada are ready to promote the strengthening of East-West cooperation and interaction.

The sides noted that the positions of the two countries are coming closer on a broad range of problems. They linked this rapprochement to the overall warming of the climate of international relations and the affirmation in world politics of new approaches which correspond to the demands of the times.

Special attention was given to the consolidation of world security, to prospects of achieving arrangements in arms limitation and, specifically, the prevention of an arms race in space.

Both sides called for increased efforts to cope with these vital tasks.

The head of the Soviet Government informed Mulroney of broad transformations in every aspect of social life in the Soviet Union and about the radical economic reform. He spoke about the existing difficulties and the quest for the ways to overcome them.

The Canadian side reaffirmed political support for reforms and renewal in the Soviet Union. Mulroney wished success to Soviet perestroyka.

A broad range of questions on bilateral commercial and economic cooperation was discussed. Ways to further improve cooperation were outlined. The sides noted the great importance of the more active use of new forms of interaction, such as joint ventures. A Canadian-Soviet business council uniting prominent Canadian businessmen and Soviet enterprises is being set up during the visit. It aims to promote the efficiency of business ties and contacts.

It was noted that the new forms of the organisation of Soviet agrarian production create favourable conditions for cooperation in agriculture.

Cooperation in the arctic, especially in environmental protection, holds a unique place in the overall package of Soviet-Canadian relations. In view of the ecological

situation in the Artic, which causes concern, the Soviet side reaffirmed the approaches proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev in Helsinki. The Murmansk initiatives that were developed constitute a durable basis for bilateral and multilateral cooperation among countries concerned with a broad range of problems in the Arctic.

They also dicussed bilateral humanitarian cooperation, which is becoming one of the main trends in Soviet-Canadian ties. The sides noted the importance of the broad unbiased approach to all questions of the human dimension, as comprised at the CSCE, of the use of new forms for the development of scientific, academic, cultural, and other ties, as well as people-to-people contacts.

The talks proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, in a spirit of increased confidence and mutual understanding that characterizes the persent stage in the development of Soviet-Canadian relations.

Then Soviet-Canadian documents were signed. The two prime-ministers signed:

The agreement on cooperation in the Arctic and the north, the agreement on cooperation in environmental protection, the agreement on encouragement and mutual protection of capital investments, the agreement on cooperation in exploration and peaceful uses of outer space, and the memorandum of mutual understanding on cooperation in the prevention and controlling of the pollution of the marine environment of the Arctic.

The foreign ministers of the USSR and Canada signed the memorandum of mutual understanding on cooperation in combatting drug abuse and the prevention of illicit production of and traffic in narcotic drugs, the agreement on the prevention of accidents on high seas beyond the limits of territorial waters, the agreement on the exchange of visits along military lines, the agreement on cooperation between Union republics of the USSR and Canadian provinces, the agreement on cooperation in peaceful uses of atomic energy, the agreement on relations in the audio-visual sphere and the protocol on joint audio-visual production, the memorandum of mutual understanding on scientific cooperation in the research of water ecosystems, and the memorandum of mutual understanding on joint programs in the areas of meteorology and studies of the atmosphere and climate.

Notes were exchanged on making changes in the table of air routes based on the 1966 agreement on air services.

On the same day Brian Mulroney placed a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall.

China

RSFSR, Heilongjiang View Border Cooperation

LD2011180889 Moscow TASS in English 1752 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—Prime Minister of Russia Aleksandr Vlasov and Chairman of the People's Government of Chinese Heilongjiang Province Shao Qihui have expressed satisfaction with the development of trade, industrial and other forms of cooperation between Russia and the Chinese province in recent years.

At today's meeting, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, the two officials discussed measures to further improve cooperation.

They also summed up the talks and discussion between Shao Qihui, members of the Council of Ministers of Russia and local authority leaders in a number of territories and regions of the Soviet Far East and Siberia.

The parties unanimously noted that the Soviet-Chinese summit last May opened up favourable opportunities for the development of good-neighbourly relations and cooperation between the Russian Federation and bordering Heilongjiang Province.

Both the parties praised the Chinese official's visit as very fruitful.

USSR, PRC Border Regions View Cooperation

PM1711091989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] Vladivostok—The possibility of the further development of mutually advantageous contacts between the border regions of the PRC and the USSR was discussed during the recent visit to Maritime Kray by Shao Qihui, chairman of the People's Government of Heilongjiang Province. The delegation headed by him left the kray center yesterday.

The Chinese guests visited the port of Vostochnyy and the city of Nakhodka, where they familiarized themselves with the prospects for joint ventures and shared participation in setting up a free-trade zone in the area. In Vladivostok Shao Qihui visited the "Primorrybprom" Production Association as well as one of the city's largest enterprises—the tool-making plant, where the first joint venture with firms from Heilongjiang Province, in the production of consumer goods, is being set up.

Deng Xiaoping Bows Out of Political Life

PM1711140589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent Yu. Savenkov: "Deng Xiaoping's Last Meeting"]

[Text] Beijing—"I will take this opportunity today of bidding farewell to my political career. You are the last guests I will receive in an official capacity," Deng Xiaoping said during a meeting with the leaders of a large Japanese business delegation.

The delegation is in China at the invitation of the Chinese committee for the development of international trade. When Eishiro Saito, president of the Japanese federation of economic organizations, pressed him on the possibility of a future meeting, Deng reacted as follows: "We will have the chance to meet unofficially. It would be impolite to refuse to meet with old friends..."

Deng Xiaoping called his recent retirement a "fact that will not cause any inconvenience to the new leaders." Chinese party, state, and military leaders must be free to do their work, he remarked. He then went on to say: "If I have any useful ideas or suggestions I will be happy to share them with the new leaders."

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Troops Repulse Rebel Jalalabad Offensive

LD2111054789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0001 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Units of the Jalalabad garrison in Afghanistan have repulsed a fresh offensive by the mujahidin. The rebels lost over 200 killed and wounded. In 3 days of fighting, government troops knocked out 2 tanks and put out of action 10 enemy transport vehicles. The rebels continue to obstruct convoys on the Kabul-Jalalabad route, with convoys of food and fuel coming under fire. But according to military sources, in spite of the siege, vehicles are getting through to the administrative center of Nangarhar Province, bringing food to the besieged city.

PLO Moscow Representative on Mideast Initiatives

LD1611135889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1939 GMT 15 Nov 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Farid Seyful-Mulyukov; interview with Nabil 'Amr, PLO representative in Moscow, at the PLO mission in Moscow; Seyful-Mulyukov conducts the interview in Arabic and provides a Russian translation of his questions and 'Amr's answers]

[Text] [Seyful-Mulyukov] Exactly 1 year has elapsed since the Palestine National Council adopted its historic decisions. How do you assess their importance for a peaceful settlement in the Near East and especially for the self-determination of the Palestinian people?

['Amr] The decisions which were approved last year in Algiers at the Palestine National Council session and, above all, the declaration regarding the proclamation of an independent Palestinian state and recognition of well-known UN resolutions, have opened up new prospects for a peaceful settlement of the Near East problem. Instead of confrontation, we proposed to Israel the peaceful coexistence of two states: an Arab Palestinian state and an Israeli state. And this is precisely what is being proposed by the entire world.

After the PLO's constructive initiative was put forward the number of countries that recognized our people's national rights increased.

However, it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the peaceful Palestinian program has come up against Israel's iron fist policy on the occupied territories. Our people are being killed there every day. The Israeli army is constantly carrying out operations to expel Palestinians; it is implementing an economic blockade of the Palestinian population in the occupied areas. Israel has, as it were, declared war on our peace initiative. But, in spite of the casualties, the Palestinians are determined to continue their peaceful struggle for the creation of an independent state.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] What is the interrelationship between the intifadah [uprising] and the PLO's peace initiative?

['Amr] The Palestinian uprising is being conducted without weapons. Herein lies its specific nature. At the same time, a punitive army armed to the teeth has been committed to battle against us.

After many years of occupation, oppression, and suppression of the Palestinian people's self-consciousness, it was important to announce our position, to start the just struggle for realization of our national aspirations. That is why we regard the intifadah as one form of the Palestinian Arab peaceful struggle. The entire world has shown sympathy toward participants in the intifadah who are not resorting to armed violence but at the same time are gradually achieving their aims. The Palestinian fighters have proclaimed the motto "freedom and independence." And until our people, which are 5 million strong, achieve a realization of their national rights, one cannot speak of peace in the Near East.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] I think a dialogue between the two sides—the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel's leaders—is, above all, necessary for achieving peace accords. Of late, new Near East initiatives have appeared: the initiative by U.S. Secretary of State Baker, the proposal by our Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, and the initiative by Egyptian President Husni Mubarak. How do you assess all these steps in search of a peaceful settlement in the region?

['Amr] The initiatives which you mention contain the idea of a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue. But, if one takes Baker's latest statement or Shamir's plan concerning the holding of elections in the occupied territories, these intiatives rule out the PLO's participation in the peace process.

At the same time, the path that was proposed by the Soviet Union and that was backed by the PLO, is the only path leading to a settlement: the convening of an international conference on the Near East with the participation of all parties involved in this conflict as well as the permanent members of the Security Council. I think that in the end, all parties will arrive at precisely this solution. As far as we are concerned, we support the idea of a dialogue between the PLO—the sole legitimate representatives of the Palestine people—and the Israeli Government. We believe that such a dialogue can further the preparation of an international peace conference. But, the Palestinians are not the obstacle. Let us recall that when Comrade Shevardnadze proposed in the United States that a dialogue between Israel and the PLO take place in Moscow, James Baker rejected the idea, as though he were making a decision on behalf of the Israelis.

Time is moving on. New complications are arising on the path of the peace process. We are convinced that an international conference is the only acceptable form for working out solutions and we are always ready to conduct a dialogue with all parties concerned. The world is developing in the direction of new relations, of a balance of interests, of a renunciation of wars and occupation. We Palestinians view all these factors as favoring our just struggle. The peaceful intifadah has reached such a stage that Israel is no longer able to put and end to it by force of weapons. We are confident that a people defending their national rights so courageously and responsibly will certainly achieve success.

U.S. Exercises, Arms Fuel Mideast Tension

PM2011161989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[V. Kirillov "Military-Political Commentary": "The Wrong Star..."]

[Text] The "active phase" of the major military maneuvers code-named "Bright Star-9" involving the U.S. and Egyptian Armed Forces has ended on Egyptian territory.

Under an accord between Washington and Cairo, such joint maneuvers have taken place on Egyptian soil every 2 years since 1981.

It has been announced that U.S. rapid-deployment units, which have arrived in Egypt, are rehearsing most actively with Egyptian troops "offensive combat operations and the capture of strategic facilities." It is this aspect of the U.S. Armed Forces' training that renders the "Bright Star" maneuvers extremely valuable from the viewpoint of Pentagon strategists. Participation in these maneuvers enables the U.S. military department, which does not hide the fact that the rapid-deployment forces are designed for potential punitive operations in the Near East region and the Persian Gulf zone, to check out their readiness "on the spot," so to speak, and at the same time acquire the "Near East" experience which is so necessary. Thus the light of the "bright star" which rises once every 2 years over the Near and Middle East distinctly illuminates the interventionist plans being hatched by certain U.S circles with regard to this region.

The major maneuvers organized by the United States, during which U.S. troop units and combat equipment appear in the Near East, by no means help normalize the prevailing tense situation there. They only heat it up still further. Like the major Pentagon arms shipments to this area. Its recent deal with Saudi Arabia, whereby it supplied it with more than 300 state-of-the-art "Abrams" M-1 tanks, may serve as an example.

Without doubt, all these actions by Washington—the "Bright Star" maneuvers, fresh U.S. weapons shipments to the region, and the further strengthening of the Israeli military machine—have an extremely adverse impact on the general state of affairs in the Near and Middle East. For an explosive situation still exists there and the fuse of the Arab-Israeli conflict is still smoldering.

East Europe

GDR Parliamentary Session, Modrow Speech Viewed

PM2011154189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy dispatch under the rubric: "Panorama of International Events": "Policy Statement"]

[Text] Berlin—Probably for the first time in the history of the GDR, People's Chamber deputies literally had to fight their way through a throng of journalists to get to the entrance of the Palace of the Republic. Their answers to the questions were clipped, and many smiled: An exhaustive answer to the questions will be provided by the session of the parliament, the 12th in number and probably one of the most important if not the most important sessions of the past 40 years.

The session opened with a government statement delivered by H. Modrow, the new chairman of the Council of Ministers, a man known throughout the republic as a convinced champion of reforms. The new government, he said, will be a government of the people and of labor. It will be a government of peace and socialism. H. Modrow defined the principles by which it will be guided: professional competence instead of slogans and ringing phrases, openness, honesty, strict observance of order and legality, modesty, and thrift. It will be a coalition government which will include representatives of all the five political parties. The number of ministerial portfolios will be considerably reduced to total 28.

The new government will do everything in its power to ensure that the current shoots of democracy in the GDR put down deep roots. It is counting on citizens' confidence and support. The way out of the political and economic crisis and the path toward stability and prosperity is perceived in radical reforms which will pervade society from top to bottom. A reform of the political system will be implemented. Its main components will be the creation of a rule-of-law state, a new electoral law, a law on the Council of Ministers, a press law, laws of freedom of assembly and association, amended criminal legislation, and a law on foreign travel.

The government will embark on the implementation of an economic reform. It is necessary to enhance the independence and responsibility of enterprises, cut the management apparatus and planning organs down to a sensible level, and consistently implement the principle of income according to labor. An atmosphere of socialist enterprise must reign in the economy, with the market as an inalienable part of it. The government intends to radically improve finances and the supply of essential products, goods, and services for the population.

In foreign policy the main objective of the coalition government is to make the GDR a factor of security and peace in Europe. The GDR will discharge its obligations as a member of the Warsaw Pact; close alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries will be maintained. The multifaceted relations, first and foremost with the Soviet Union, will be expanded and deepened and given a new quality. The GDR is prepared to develop its cooperation with the FRG and to place it on a new, higher level.

The government, H. Modrow said, will carry out the will of the people, who need good socialism. That, however, means something more than work and good housing for everyone and being able to buy everything that you need in the shops, although even that is already something. Improved socialism means being able to live a colorful and meaningful life, it means the possibility for every individual to develop in an atmosphere of comradeship and collectivism.

A new government was submitted which includes only a few of the former ministers, O. Fischer, minister of foreign affairs, among them. A debate has opened on the government statement delivered by H. Modrow. It will last 2 days.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] parliamentary party met on the eve of the parliamentary session. At the proposal of E. Krenz, 27 deputies of the People's Chamber from this party resigned. They include Erich and Margot Honecker, H. Sindermann, W. Stoph, K. Hager, J. Herrmann, E. Mueckenberger, W. Krolikowski, and H. Axen. The reasons for their departure differ. New candidacies have been submitted for consideration by the Presidium of the People's Chamber to fill their seats.

The SED Central Party Control Commission met under the chairmanship of Werner Eberlein, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo. The question of the commission's role and place in the conditions of the renewal of society was discussed. Letters and statements received by the commission from party members were examined. It was decided to call to account First Secretaries G. Mueller and Hans Albrecht of Erfurt and Suhl SED Bezirk Committees for law violations. Party members punished for criticizing mistakes and miscalculations in economic and information policy have been rehabilitated.

Answering questions from foreign journalists, E. Krenz declared: It is not rank-and-file members of the party, workers, peasants or the intelligentsia who bear the responsibility for the current situation in the country. It is the leadership of our party which is to blame, and it has admitted as much. E. Honecker has also accepted the blame. The state of health of this 77 year-old man is such that it has been left to him to chose the time to make a public assessment of his actions.

New GDR Government, Swearing-In Viewed

PM2011160589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent M. Podklyuchnikov dispatch: "GDR: Government Program Approved"]

[Text] Berlin, 18 Nov—A 2-day session of the GDR People's Chamber completed its work today. The country's supreme body representing the people approved the new GDR Council of Ministers proposed the day before by H. Modrow, the head of government.

It has 28 members. This is 16 fewer than in the previous composition. It is a coalition government. It includes 17 members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, 4 representatives of the Liberal Democratic Party, 3 of the Christian Democratic Union, 2 of the National Democratic Party, and 2 of the Democratic Peasants' Party. The government includes three women.

The deputies discussed the action program of the Council of Ministers set forth in H. Modrow's government statement. It received approval as the basis of the country's democratic renewal.

The GDR People's Chamber adopted a decision to set up a temporary committee of the supreme body representing the people to verify cases of abuse of power, corruption, personal enrichment, and other actions with regard to which suspicions exist as to a violation of the laws. It was also decided to form a commission on amendments and additions to the GDR Constitution. A temporary committee is being set up to formulate a new law on elections.

After the end of the session E. Krenz, chairman of the GDR State Council, swore in the government.

Changes in GDR-Soviet Friendship Society Noted

LD2011201189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin, 20 Nov (TASS)—Questions of the new content and form of activity of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society (GDRSFS) were discussed at the sitting of the Central Directorate of this society which took place here today.

At the sitting the address of E. Mueckenberger was read out, though because of the state of his health he was unable to take part in it. In his address he announced his retirement from the post of chairman of the Central Directorate of the GDRSFS. Despite my best aspirations, he explains in the letter, I did harm to the cause of friendship with the Soviet Union and I did not assess the significance of perestroyka and glasnost for the GDR as it merited.

At the sitting the decision was adopted to convene in February 1990 an extraordinary congrss of the GDRSFS at which a new charter and a new program of action of the society should be adopted. Since the presidium and the secretariat of the Central Directorate also bear responsibility for the recent erroneous development, the report of the sitting which is published here says Heinz Kuhrig, vice-president of the GDRSFS, proposed that both of these bodies retire. That proposal was passed.

USSR-GDR Sociologists' Group Meets in Moscow

PM2111091989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Joint Sociologists' Session"]

[Text] In the period 15 through 18 November a session of a joint group of academy sociologists was held within the framework of the joint USSR-GDR Commission on Cooperation in the Sphere of Social Sciences on problems relating to the use of vanguard technologies and their influence on social and philosophical problems relating to the development of the individual. The joint group's representatives discussed topical problems of scientific and technical progress in connection with the preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress and the extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany congress. In the course of the discussion there was also a trenchant and principled debate about new views of the theory and practice of renewing socialism and questions concerning the extensive introduction of practical sociological studies in the practical work of party committees and enhancing the role of labor collectives in using vanguard technologies to speed up scientific and technical progress. In the course of joint sessions the leaders of the sociological groups, Professors Zh.T. Toshchenko and A. Krechmar [name as transliterated], also pointed to new tasks of boosting the creative activeness of scientists engaged in joint studies in view of up-to-the-minute and future sociological studies, in light of the demands of perestroyka in the USSR and the GDR.

German Reunification Issue 'Not Pressing'

LD1811223489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] In connection with the changes taking place at the moment in the GDR, especially the repubic's citizens being allcwed to travel abroad, some politicians and mass media bodies in the FRG have again begun actively attempting to resurrect the thesis of the unification of Germany. Is this thesis really pressing today? Our correspondent in the GDR and West Berlin, Anatoliy Stepkin, responds to this question:

[Stepkin] Practically all opinions I have heard from representatives and citizens of the GDR show: No, it is not pressing. GDR citizens are stating their attachment to their socialist state, naturally in a renewed form. On learning of the changes in the GDR, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl even interrupted his official visit to Poland to speak in West Berlin before Germans from East and West. After his very first phrase on the need for the unification of Germany the crowd of many thousands began to whistle.

Whistles of disapproval accompanied the whole of Kohl's speech. At the end of the meeting when the chancellor began to sing the anthem Deutschland, Deutschland Uber Alles—Germany over all—the crowd, on the contrary, fell silent. Kohl, having sung a stanza alone, was forced to finish it. It was a scandal, from the point of view of politicians. It is still be discussed in the FRG press and the West German legislature. Judicious politicians understand that if the idea is not supported by the masses it is dead.

Walter Momper, the mayor in West Berlin, is probably one of the first to realize these moods. Making an announcement yesterday in the city Chamber of Deputies he stressed that he regards the flow of visitors from the GDR not as days of unification but only as days of meetings and rendezvous between Germans. It is not a policy of good words which is needed now but practical steps to establish good-neighborly relations. It is necessary to talk with the other German state about the economic and political questions life is presenting, Momper announced. For understandable historical reasons relations between the two German states are a theme that is pressing not only for Germans but for all Europe. Practically all its neighbors, whether France or Poland, Czechoslovakia or Spain [as heard] in the person of their political leaders state that the unification of the two German states is not a pressing issue, at least not at the present time. British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd visited West Berlin yesterday and stated that the question of the unification of Germany is not a pressing one.

Soviet leader Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, expressed his opinion on this question at the student forum in Moscow, and it has been received with interest in the GDR and West Berlin. It was published in many newspapers in the GDR and West Berl'n. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stated that the existence of two

German states is a historically recognized fact, and the question of unification is not pressing at the present stage.

Reportage on GDR Crises, Cross-Border Traffic

Economic Problems Persist

PM1511124189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 89 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Chursin dispatch: "Sunday Stroll to the West"]

[Text] Berlin, West Berlin—It is better to see it for yourself once, than every night on Western television. This is what millions of GDR citizens thought when they decided to take a trip to the FRG or West Berlin last weekend. They were not put off by traffic jams stretching for many kilometers on the border roads and the long hours of waiting. Many of them, lacking faith in the new regulations governing trips abroad, set off without obtaining the necessary documents.

GDR border guards and internal affairs organs made a truly titanic effort in order to reduce the lines at border-crossing points. Formalities were reduced to a minimum, visas were issued directly at checkpoints, and new border-crossing points were opened literally in a matter of hours.

A festive mood reigned deep into the night on West Berlin's main thoroughfares. The dream to stroll down the famous Kurfuerstendamm, which seemed totally impossible only a week ago, became reality. Friends and neighbors from Leipzig and Dresden, Rostock and far off Thuringia met, loudly exchanging their impressions. During the past few days more than 800,000 GDR citizens have visited West Berlin.

Once, in reply to the question what would happen if the GDR authorities opened the inter-German border a prominent West Berlin journalist permitted himself a black joke: "The entire population would run away." Today it is possible to boldly state that reality has refuted the pessimistic forecast of my colleague.

On Sunday night the columns of thousands of cars headed back in the opposite direction. And moreover, the stream of emigres from the GDR to the FRG via Hungary and Czechoslovakia has virtually dried up. The situation in the temporary camps set up for the migrants has also changed. Many refugees intend to return, and the tents and sports halls are gradually emptying.

Welcoming the decision of the GDR Government, leading FRG and West Berlin politicians are saying that it will not only have far-reaching consequences for the two German states but will also significantly influence the political climate in Europe and the whole range of East-West relations. Without any doubt a major step has been taken toward the creation of the common European home.

So far an upsurge of emotions prevails on both side of the border. However, even right now it is clear that a great deal of difficult work lies ahead with a view to normalizing political and economic relations and developing them on an equitable basis. So for instance, having gathered for a debate at the Berlin Higher Economic School, leading GDR specialists made no secret of their fears that in the current conditions a repetition of the abnormal situation of the fifties might recur as a result of the many outstanding financial problems. After all, on the black market an exchange rate of 1 to 10 still prevails between the German currencies. As a result of the economic difficulties which the republic is experiencing at the moment, it is unable to ensure an adequate supply of freely convertible currency. This situation, as speakers noted with concern, could result in a manpower drain from the GDR national economy and an unhealthy desire on the part of a certain section of the population to find easy ways of obtaining foreign currency.

Nonetheless the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and rank-and-file communists are unanimous that only by rallying their own ranks and conducting an open dialogue will the party be capable of resolving the tasks of renewing the socialist society. Taking account of the numerous wishes of party organizations and the working people, the SED Central Committee plenum held last night adopted a decision to convene an extraordinary party congress in December of this year.

SED Upheaval, Protests Viewed

PM1511171589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy dispatch: "Discussions and Decisions"]

[Text] Berlin—Late in the evening of Monday, 13 November the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee gathered in plenary session. It was decided to hold an extraordinary party congress rather than a party conference, as that is the demand of numerous lower-level party organizations. It will open 15 December. The delegates will elect a new Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission and instruct them to draft a new party program and statutes. The newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND will be publishing the Central Committee decision on the procedure for electing delegates to the congress. The vote will be by secret ballot.

A session of the GDR People's Chamber has been held. The sitting was uncharacteristically stormy and the debates pointed and extremely frank. Elections were held for the post of speaker of the People's Chamber to replace Horst Sindermann, who has resigned. Five candidates were proposed: the leaders of the four political parties (except the SED) and the Kulturbund. After the first round of the secret ballot two candidates were left: the chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, M. Gerlach, and the chairman of the Democratic

Peasants' Party of Germany, G. Maleuda. In the second round Guenther Maleuda won with a majority of 16 votes.

The nomination of Hans Modrow was then put to a parliamentary vote. The SED faction proposed that he be elected to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers to replace Willi Stoph, who has resigned. Only one person voted against the nomination. The remaining deputies all voted in favor.

A few words about Hans Modrow. He was born in 1928 into a working class family, trained to be a machinery repair mechanic, and was a student at the Higher Komsomol School in Moscow at the beginning of the fifties. In 1957 he graduated as an extramural student from the social sciences department of the K. Marx Higher Party School. Four years later he passed an examination as an external student at the Berlin Higher School of Economics. In 1966 he received a doctorate. He has been a member of the SED for 40 years. He has been a deputy of the People's Chamber since 1957. He became a member of the Central Committee in 1967 and was made first secretary of the Dresden SED Bezirk Committee in 1973. At a news conference the other day he told journalists that a future GDR Government not only needs new faces but primarily new qualities and a new structure to make it more effective. A real government which possibly one day will be called a "big coalition" must be created in place of the old Council Ministers, which had 45 members, he said. A totally new relationship must be born between the party leadership and the government, and the policies of the alliance of parties must be convincingly apparent in government activity.

Following a decision by the People's Chamber, a provisional commission has been set up to investigate cases of abuse of office, corruption, unlawful personal gain, and other illegalities. Before the next session, which will open 17 November, each faction of the People's Chamber must nominate two candidates to this commission. The composition of the commission will be confirmed at the session.

The new situation regarding the procedure for travel to the West by GDR citizens is still the center of attention in the newspapers and on television. More and more new checkpoints are opening on the borders with the FRG and West Berlin. Restrictions on entry to previously forbidden border zones are being lifted.

The overwhelming majority of GDR citizens are, as a rule, crossing over for several hours and receiving the so-called "welcome money"—100 marks per person, allocated from the FRG and West Berlin treasuries—and then returning home. According to a spokesman for the GDR Ministry of the Interior, more than 5 million visas have already been issued for private visits to the West. Some 11,000 applications have been made to leave the country to take up permanent residence abroad.

A lightning opinion poll has been conducted in Berlin for the first time. It was carried out in two regions of the city and at four checkpoints. A total of 87 percent of the respondents answered in the affirmative to the question "Will you definitely be staying in the GDR?" A total of 93 percent spoke in favor of serious changes in the country's electoral system. To the question "Do the results of the 10th SED Central Committee Plenum meet the requirements for renewal in the GDR?" 24 percent answered "yes" and 60 percent said "partly." The poll was conducted by sociologists from the Social Sciences Academy.

The flood of "returnees"—former GDR citizens who left the country earlier via Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland—is growing. Four checkpoints have been opened for them on the border with the GDR. The Red Cross is looking after them initially. They are being housed in specially allocated premises, usually barracks, for 2-3 days, during which time the question of where they are to live and work is decided. Permanent cooperation has been set up with the Red Cross organization in the FRG, where no less than 10,000 emigrants from the GDR are in urgent need of material assistance.

Demonstrations and mass rallies are still being held. On Monday 200,000 people took part in a street procession in Leipzig, 100,000 in Dresden, and tens of thousands in Cottbus, Halle, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Magdeburg, and other cities. The demonstrators are demanding the holding of free elections, free foreign travel guaranteed by law, rejection of the SED's leading role, and the resignation and punishment of party and state figures responsible for the present crisis.

Currency Problems, FRG Help

PM1811191589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy dispatch under the general heading: "Situation Changing in Central Europe"]

[Text] Berlin—I had been away from West Berlin just a few days but, on returning there, I did not recognize the city. The flow of glossy Audis and Mercedes had been joined by thousands of rattling and smoking Trabants and Wartburgs bearing license plates from all the GDR bezirks. Traffic jams arise everywhere. Downtown West Berlin is full of "tourists for an hour."

At the very center, alongside the Remembrance Church, which was destroyed during the war and has remained unrestored so as to remind and edify, a field kitchen gives out free pea soup.

Not far from the field kitchen there is another line leading to a truck—an unusual sight in West Berlin. Guests from the GDR are being given so-called "greetings money" of DM100 per person—a sign of special patronage for compatriots from the East—together with a stamp in their passport. The local radio has reported

that DM150 million in "greetings money" has already been handed out since the day the border was opened in the FRG and West Berlin, which means that 1.5 million people have received it. They at once put the money into circulation and use it to buy inexpensive electronic equipment, coffee, bananas, certain household implements, and, of course, souvenirs.

There are crowds outside exchange bureaus. The rate for the GDR mark is still being maintained at the former level—approximately M10 to DM1. But I have repeatedly heard fears in the GDR that, given too great a flow of Eastern marks to the West, the exchange rate could soon "drift" and lead to devaluation.

...Much is changing before our eyes. A new dimension has entered the life of Germans in East and West, and they have still to comprehend it. And not only they but also all Europeans. Today they are observing with some doubt the passionate meeting of people who only 1 week ago were separated by an impenetrable wall.

Of course, many problems have arisen—both those that were known before 1961, before the construction of the Berlin Wall, and qualitatively new ones for both sides. The euphoria of the meeting and the fraternization will soon end; in the end the open border will become an everyday phenomenon in the consciousness of people living on both sides of it, and the problems that will have to be resolved will also stand out more clearly.

Sober politicians on the Western side are already proposing that everyone sit together around a round table and talk about the future. It is known that some people in the West look at the situation which has arisen as an opportunity to unite the two German states as quickly as possible. Meanwhile, increasingly loud appeals are also being made to look at things without illusion about a Greater Germany, which will only harm the cause. The federal government must now begin practical talks with the GDR and not indulge in the fifties dreams of unification, W. Momper, the ruling Social-Democrat mayor of West Berlin, says. He accuses Bonn of political shortsightedness and of failing to understand the purport of the qualitatively new situation.

The problem of hard currency remains acute and, I would say, painful for the GDR. DM15 is the largest amount they can change once a year for people traveling to the West at the rate of 1 to 1. The unofficial rate in West Berlin, as already stated, is 1 to 10. What is the way out of the situation? Bonn is making promises to give economic and financial support. Bonn politicians speak of this every evening on the television screen. We will help, they promise, but on one condition: The GDR must renounce socialism. This is not a simple failure to understand the situation but unceremonious interference in the affairs of a sovereign state.

However, other, more realistic ways to resolve the problem are also proposed. W. Momper names among these the creation of joint ventures which will give the GDR additional currency. According to him, the GDR economy is perfectly suitable for cooperation. Roughly the same idea was expressed by the eminent West German entrepreneur Otto-Wolf von Amerongen in an interview with correspondents of the GDR television program "Topical Camera." But the matter must not go so far as a sellout of the GDR, W. Momper warns.

Time will show which ways will be found to resolve the currency problem. Meanwhile, events are developing at breakneck speed.

Honecker Critics To Be Rehabilitated

PM1811193189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA "Press Service" report under the general heading: "Changing Situation in Central Europe"]

[Text] D. Wilms, federal minister for inner-German relations, has reported that in connection with the mass influx of visitors from the GDR the sum of DM479 million provided for in the budget to pay out "greetings money" has been almost doubled and will stand at more than DM800 million.

Despite this, many GDR inhabitants, fearing that Bonn will not have enough money, traveled to the FRG for the weekend as early as Thursday. At the border crossings it is possible to observe lines of cars stretching many kilometers. Taking these complexities into account, some GDR citizens are trying to travel to West Germany via Czechoslovakia. According to FRG Interior Ministry data, approximately 383,000 people had already traveled into the country during Wednesday and Thursday. Just over 2,000 of them wished to remain permanently.

More than 1 million tourists are expected to arrive for the weekend. In all, to date, more than 8.6 million GDR citizens have filled out exit documents.

The local authorities in FRG cities and communes and also the West Berlin Senat are feverishly drawing up measures to avert chaos. GDR citizens arriving in Trabants have been banned from entering the center of many cities. Special parking lots near the border and free onward travel by bus have been organized for them. The number of trains is being doubled. Additional centers are being opened to exchange currency, to pay out money, and to provide food. Volunteer helpers are being sought to serve the tourists from the GDR. There is an acute staff shortage in stores and shops, which, despite the existing regulations governing weekend trading, will be open through 1800 hrs on Saturday and for part of Sunday. Free visits to museums, theaters, and stadiums and city tours are planned for people arriving from the GDR.

Events are also developing rapidly in the GDR itself. Television carried a report by E. Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, that 27 deputies of the GDR People's Chamber are to relinquish their powers. They include

the former leading politicians E. Honecker and his wife, and W. Stoph, H. Sindermann, K. Hager, H. Tisch, and others.

In the government list proposed by H. Modrow, the new chairman of the country's Council of Ministers, 12 ministers are not SED members but represent other parties.

According to an ADN report, proceedings will be instituted against the former first secretaries of the SED's Erfurt and Suhl Bezirk Committees for violating GDR laws.

At the same time the rehabilitation of those party members who were punished for citicizing mistakes in the policy of the former GDR leadership has been announced.

Mass demonstrations are continuing in the republic's cities under slogans for democratic renewal, free elections, punishment of those guilty of economic crimes, and for amendments to be made to the existing Constitution.

Opposition Demands Viewed

PM2011164789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy dispatch: "GDR: Difficult Path to Stabilization"]

[Text] Berlin—It has now become an ordinary event: The weekend was marked by mass demonstrations and rallies in the GDR. The largest were held in Potsdam and Leipzig, each attended by 30,000 people. Speakers at the Potsdam rally, convened on the initiative of the local Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] organization, called for support for the course taken by the party and the newly formed government toward the renewal of society. The Leipzig rally was held on the initiative of the "New Forum" Movement and was sanctioned by the authorities.

Here is the "package" of demands by its participants: Free elections, renunciation by the SED of its leading role, equality of all parties and local organizations, reduction of the security services apparatus, broad involvement of women in politics and the economy, rejection of censorship, freedom of the press, public monitoring of the mass media, and immediate measures to improve the ecological situation in the city. Rallies attended by thousands were also held in Berlin, Dresden, Karl Marx-Stadt, Frankfurt an der Oder, Gera, Suhl, and other cities.

The Berlin newspapers reported that Egon Krenz and his family have moved from a "government residence" in the Berlin suburb of Wandlitz to a more modest apartment in the capital's Pankow district. His example is bound to be followed by other party leaders. Egon Krenz gave an interview to GDR television journalists in the new apartment. He was asked: Does he envisage the possibility of not being elected general secretary at the extraordinary SED congress due to open 15 December? Krenz replied: "My party will make a decision on this matter. I have always obeyed the party's decisions and will do so again." The general secretary will, in his own words, struggle to ensure that the turnabout occurring in the country becomes irreversible. If the party deems it necessary to nominate him in order to pursue this policy, he would readily accept this proposal. If the party has a different opinion, the congress will elect another general secretary.

Krenz was asked: Could it happen that, following a general election, the SED might find itself just one of many parties? The SED is one of five parties united within the democratic bloc, E. Krenz replied. Its leading role must be "earned"—it is not a question of constitutions or declarations. The party leadership failed the test of power. But this does not mean that rank and file party members who placed their trust in the leadership should not themselves advance now, each in his own sector. On the contrary, it is in the period of renewal that they must march forward. The chosen path is not a cosmetic operation but a matter of radical reforms. In Krenz' words, what has failed is not socialism but a degenerate form of socialism. The main misfortune lies in the fact that in 40 years there was no success in getting rid of the Stalinist past and the administrative system. Everyone accepting office nowadays is driven not by careerist considerations, but by a sense of responsibility. These people must be given a chance, rather than being condemned beforehand.

The GDR mark is in danger—this is how I would define one of the acute problems that has emerged in the country in the last few days. It was mentioned by Council of Ministers Chairman H. Modrow in the government's statement to parliament: "In view of the new regulations governing foreign travel, it has become necessary to take measures to protect our currency and oppose speculation in money and goods." A working group has been set up with instructions to find solutions which, without any detriment to citizens, would prevent the exchange rate difference between GDR and FRG marks, or the price difference between goods and foodstuffs, from being exploited for speculative purposes.

Uta Nickel, the new minister of finance and prices, confirmed at a press conference that the package of measures is about to be produced; it is assumed, in particular, that customs control will be made stricter. There have already been spot checks of GDR citizens crossing the border with West Berlin. Quite sizeable sums of money, up to 9,000 marks, have been discovered and confiscated. The press reminds its readers that exporting national currency from the country is prohibited. Border Guard officers have spoken on local television, persistently calling on citizens not to breach the rules governing the taking of money abroad.

Nonetheless, large sums of GDR marks continue to move westward. I already reported that people wishing

to exchange marks form lines outside currency exchange bureaus in West Berlin. The rate is speculative. One FRG mark is already worth more than 10 GDR marks. The press reports that GDR marks are exchanged at the rate of 1 to 20 on the "black market," which is 20 times lower than the official rate set in the republic.

A struggle against foreign speculators has been launched everywhere. According to estimates by Guenther Arndt, first deputy chief of the GDR Customs Administration, the damage they cause to the country runs to approximately 0.5 billion marks a year. This figure is tending to rise. During the third quarter of this year the customs service investigated 57 most blatant smuggling cases. Polish citizens were involved in 39 of them. Unfortunately, our own compatriots are also to be found among them. The exported products are, as a rule, goods and foodstuffs which enjoy high state subsidies in the GDR and are therefore relatively cheap. They are primarily footwear, children's clothing, meat products, and spices.

Customs officers have major complaints about Polish citizens using the GDR for transit travel to West Berlin. They buy cheap goods in the GDR capital. They sell them on the so-called "Polish market" on the other side of the border, exchanging currency at speculative rates and traveling back to buy a fresh consignment of goods. In just a single day, according to local newspaper reports, speculators earn as much as a Polish worker earns in a whole month.

The GDR customs service has been considerably reinforced in the last few days. Cadres from the Customs Administration and the Customs Officers Training Institute have been sent in to help. Recommendations for resolutely combating smuggling will be submitted for the government's consideration by year's end.

'Tolerance' Needed During GDR Reform Process

LD2011234689 Moscow TASS in English 2202 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin November 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Ryabikin:

One characteristic feature of the present stage in the GDR is a significant politicization of all segments of society. It will not be an overstatement to say that attempts to understand the errors of the past and a search for ways out of the existing situation continue now in all parties, trade unions and youth, women's, artistic and other public organisations. In powerful demonstrations all segments of population and public movements are making known their views and demands to improve the socialist society.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) approach to these movements is also changing now. For instance, during the meeting of First Secretary of SUPG District Committee of Schwerin H.J. Audemn with "New Forum" representatives, a positive influence of the latter organisation on public life was noted.

It is characteristic that actually all political parties and public organisations demanding changes are working from very similar positions. The question of the leading role of the SUPG is no exception. Discussions in the party itself and in society indicate the need for changes in the party.

Concern for the destiny of socialism is also voiced. A statement of the Secretariat of the SUPG District Committee of Leipzig, published by the newspaper LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG, says that "socialism in the GDR is in danger", points out the desire of citizens, including many communists, to achieve a democratic change in society.

The need is increasingly stressed for equal treatment of the opinions of all parties and organisations.

The democratic renovation is a multifaceted and contradictory process. Making a government statement at a meeting of the People's Chamber of the GDR, Premier Modrow said the will for renovation of socialist society and the state is shared by millions of citizens and has become a political force. Socialism, better than the present one, must give everyone a chance to develop personality and establish a comradely climate in collectives.

Political and ideological tolerance is an inalienable component of the process. It is important that the word of everyone be heeded in the process of socialist changes and that everyone take an active part in this common undertaking.

GDR Defense Minister Comments on Reform

LD2111000889 Moscow TASS in English 2324 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin, November 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vadim Chudov:

To create reliable prerequisites for the protection of the gains and further renewal of the country on the basis of high-degree defence preparedness is the point of reform of the country's armed forces.

This was what Defence Minister of the German Democratic Republic Theodor Hoffman told a news conference in Berlin on Monday.

He noted that after a nationwide discussion, the concept of reform aiming to democratize the army life will be worked out completely at the beginning and implemented at the end of next year.

Servicemen are already doing work in the national economy and in health and transport services, including when off duty. In this way, their work load is doubled.

Service is particularly strenuous for border guards, Hoffman stressed, implying the increasing flow of people crossing the border after restrictions were lifted.

The minister expressed hope that the process of renewal in the German Democratic Republic will impart positive impulses to the policy of securing peace, detente and disarmament in Europe.

At the same time, Hoffman noted, NATO is continuing the modernization of its armaments to attain military superiority. In this connection, Hoffman reiterated readiness to begin a dialogue with West German defense minister.

Foreign Media, Officials View GDR Events

PM2011141189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Guarantees of Stability; World Press on Events in GDR"]

[Text] Commenting on the decision to hold an extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany Congress, London's THE DAILY TELEGRAPH notes: "E. Krenz is setting his party on the reform path. This decision was his answer to the demands to change GDR policy."

The situation in the GDR remains the focus of the world press, and is constantly mentioned in the speeches of statesmen and politicians. Analyzing these events in the context of the development of the situation in the other East European countries, the BOSTON GLOBE places this year among such epoch-making dates for all European and world history as 1789, 1848, and 1917.

Statements made by serious politicians are couched in calmer tones. U.S. President G. Bush said that he is responding to the rapid reforms in East Europe in a deliberately restrained fashion so as not to contribute to any unforeseen disorders. "It is very difficult," he noted, "to say for certain what will happen next. Therefore I continue to use such a term as 'prudent.'" Washington, THE NEW YORK TIMES notes, "is playing the role of detached onlooker—surprised, full of enthusiasm, and anxious." Anxious, the article indicates, particularly about the fact that the present changes "also promise to provoke fresh debates in Washington about the need to keep a large and expensive U.S. military presence in West Europe."

The introduction of new border regulations, as a result of which hundreds of thousands of GDR citizens have been able to visit the FRG and West Berlin, has been the most impressive embodiment of the changes in the GDR. "Streets which were dead ends for 28 years have been opened up once again," the NBC Television company reports from Berlin. "The need to escape has gone forever, and people have gained freedom in their own home."

This is also confirmed by statistics. As FRG Interior Minister W. Schaeuble reported, on 11 November applications to stay permanently in the FRG were submitted by about 5 percent of the total number of people visiting the FRG.

The easing of exit procedures, as a result of which the GDR has virtually become a state with open borders, has already led to a sharp drop in the flow of refugees from East to West.

Naturally, this accords with the interests not only of the GDR, but also of the FRG, whose potential for receiving refugees is nearing its limit. This was also mentioned by FRG Chancellor H. Kohl, who, according to information from the French "Antenne-2", stated that the uncontrolled migration from the GDR to the FRG should be stopped. He expressed willingness to give economic assistance to the GDR, but on condition that the overwhelming majority of citizens who have expressed the intention to visit the West nonetheless continue to live in the GDR.

So it seems that the wave of refugees which has lashed the FRG since the summer is beginning to diminish. As a result the unexpected hope of... South Africa that with the help of former GDR citizens it would be able to improve its demographic balance in favor of the white population is not being borne out.

The first articles on events in the GDR sometimes expressed concern at the possible unification of Germany. Britain's THE SUNDAY TIMES wrote about the "fourth Reich," which, in the words of another London newspaper—THE SUNDAY CORRESPONDENT—would become the "most powerful economic system in Europe, producing more than Britain and France together, and its citizens will be richer than the Americans." The French also expressed such fears in connection with the possible geopolitical changes. And THE NEW YORK TIMES indicates directly in this connection that "maintaining two German states would be a step toward guaranteeing peace and stability in Europe."

It is typical that NEUES DEUTSCHLAND also made a similar statement. GDR leader E. Krenz stated in a telephone conversation with H. Kohl that the question of the reunification of the two German states "is not a subject for discussion at all."

In an ABC Television interview, Wolfgang Ullmann, who, in the announcer's words, is the founder of the "New Democracy Movement," the most influential opposition group in the GDR, asked whether the GDR will remain socialist, replied: "We are aiming precisely for this. Of course, it will be a new, democratic type of socialism."

Krenz Postpones Planned 21 Nov Visit to CSSR

LD2111055389 Moscow TASS in English 0539 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin November 21 TASS—New German Democratic Republic leader Egon Krenz has postponed his visit to Prague scheduled for November 21, the ADN news agency reported on Monday.

The move has been agreed with Czechoslovak authorities, it said.

Lifting of GDR, CSSR Travel Curbs Viewed

LD1611065989 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

It has been announced in Prague that Czechoslovakia, in accordance with its international commitments, has streamlined the procedure for people's travel abroad.

Two days earlier the USSR Supreme Soviet session by an overwhelming majority of votes endorsed in the first reading the basic provisions of a foreign travel bill under which practically every Soviet person will be able to get a foreign travel passport for a five-year term.

At the same time, by a decision of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, its citizens were granted the right to go abroad at any point of the border with the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin.

Many foreign publications point out that these legislative acts illustrate that, although changes taking place in socialist countries vary, they have a clearly defined common orientation towards openness, democratisation and the creation of the broadest possible opportunities for people-to-people contacts.

The Soviet Union and its allies have indeed firmly begun the radical renewal of socialism. We are resolute advocates of faithful observance of the basic international legal documents concerning human rights.

There is every reason to give credit for the progressive Helsinki process as it is developing in Europe in a particularly active way primarily due to the efforts of socialist countries.

The depth and significance of the changes are obvious. It is equally self-evident that just as is the fact that the changes can and must promote the elimination of the division in Europe, the overcoming of confrontational relations between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO and the building of a common European home [sentence as received].

However, indisputable is also something else: This positive process will be successful only if the advance towards a new peaceful period in Europe is not impeded by attempts to use the process for self-serving political purposes or to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states.

Unfortunately, this misapplication cannot be ruled out. Attempts made by some circles in West Germany to put the German reunification issue on the agenda of present-day policy has caused concern, as has the desire to dispute the very existence of the sovereign German Democratic Republic.

The de facto elimination of the "Berlin Wall" renders the border open to crossing, but it does not mean that the very notion of a border is eliminated.

The distinction would seem clear. Nevertheless some Western mass media, West German ones in particular, with zeal worthy of a better cause, continue to argue the need to "do away with borders".

The Liberty Radio station, based in Munich and financed by the U.S. Congress, when discussing the subject "the Berlin Wall and the architects of a common European home", predicted a "break-up" of the now existing territorial and political set-up on the continent and a "recarving" of the European borders.

Changing accusations about the "export of the revolution" into calls for "export of capitalism" is the dangerous product of old thinking, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev emphasised during a meeting with the French foreign minister.

Political and public figures who adhere to the positions of realism and wholeheartedly strive for the establishment of a new peaceful Europe and the building of a common European home must exhibit restraint, a responsible approach, and constructive work with the balance of interests maintained.

Discussions about the alleged "collapse" of this or that social system and a "fourth reich" merely encourage extremist sentiments and do not serve the world's interests.

Reportage on Prague Demonstrations, Aftermath

PM2011195589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Demonstration in Prague"]

[Text] Prague, 20 Nov—The situation in Prague has remained tense following the 17 November student demonstration devoted to the 50th anniversary of the youth demonstrations to protest the Hitlerite occupation of Czechoslovakia. Rumors have spread in the city about the death of one of the demonstrators. He allegedly died from a beating after the public security forces attempted to prevent actions by extremist elements who were causing a disturbance in the city center.

Yesterday afternoon a crowd many thousands strong started gathering in Wenceslas Square. According to rough calculations, tens of thousands of citizens took part in the demonstrations. Its participants carried antigovernment banners and chanted a call for a "general strike." Fliers calling for a strike were handed out.

The unsanctioned demonstration passed off peacefully and without incident. For the first time the law-enforcement forces not only did not intervene but were actually absent from the Wenceslas Square area.

Around 1700 hours the column of demonstrators moved toward Prague Castle, but they were stopped by the security forces at the 1 May Bridge. The crowd heeded the request of the public security representatives and turned back.

The rumor about the death of Martin Smid, a student at the physics and mathematics faculty, which was the main reason behind the demonstration, was refuted in a CTK report. Czechoslovak television broadcast an interview with him. Smid did indeed take part in the 17 November demonstration, but he is alive and well and is to continue his studies today. The chief physician of the Prague medical services reported that as a result of the dispersal of Friday's student demonstration 38 people had received injuries of varying degrees of severity, and 10 of them had been hospitalized.

The television and CTK also reported that Petr Uhl, a "Charter 77" activist, had been arrested. He is accused of spreading disinformation about the student's death in a Radio Free Europe broadcast.

It is now necessary to keep a clear head, to use common sense, and to resolutely condemn provocations aimed at producing social chaos rather than at improving socialism and people's lives, the newspaper RUDE PRAVO writes today in an editorial.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee organ draws attention to the fact that over the past few days various population groups, actively supported by certain Western television and radio stations, have been trying to provoke a confrontation with the state authorities and to destabilize the political situation in the CSSR.

RUDE PRAVO draws attention to the statement by M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, in his recent speech that the country's leadership is interested in a sincere and honest dialogue with everyone who wants to seek solutions based on the Constitution and to pool efforts for constructive work in the interests of Czechoslovakia's socialist development. However, it is clear, M. Jakes stressed, that dialogue cannot be conducted by organizing demonstrations aimed at whipping up tension in society, violating public order, and attempting to impose nonsocialist ways behind slogans about "democratization."

PRAVDA Official Meets CSSR's Fojtik

LD1711205389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, met Ivan Frolov, new editor of PRAVDA, the daily of the CPSU Central Committee, in Moscow. They stressed the need for an all-around flow of information between the two fraternal parties. They pointed out the significance of irreplaceability of the parties' central dailies for strengthening mutual understanding.

Jan Fojtik also exchanged views with Georgiy Smirnov, director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee. They spoke about the significance of party research and theory centers for working out and analyzing questions appearing in the course of a complicated process of restructuring and democratization of society in both countries.

Polish Premier's Visit to USSR Previewed

PM2011142989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent L. Toporkov: "USSR-Poland: Climate of Trust"]

[Text] Warsaw—As has been reported, Polish Council of Ministers Chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union 23-26 November at the invitation of the Soviet Government. Both Poland and the Soviet Union attach enormous significance to this important event in terms of the process of the development of Soviet-Polish relations.

Despite the big changes that have taken place in Poland since the well-known "roundtable" and the 4 June elections, which were won by forces united around "Solidarity," the line of rapprochement between the two peoples, close neighbors and allies, remains the chief element of the Polish Government's eastern policy.

I remember the meeting and conversation with T. Mazowiecki soon after his apppointment as Polish Government head. He said that one of his concerns as the new premier is to develop friendly links with the Soviet Union and that, naturally, he would like to go to Moscow, where he has never been before, although he has friends and acquaintances there. The premier stressed that Poland remains loyal to the allied commitments associated with membership in the Warsaw Pact. "But I must take this opportunity of saying," T. Mazowiecki said at the time, "that we would like to see relations between the peoples and between states as the dominant feature of our relations, with relations between institutions, enterprises, parties, and so forth in second place. As I see it, they must be built on a broader base."

T. Mazowiecki said that he and his colleagues are keeping a close eye on changes in the Soviet Union and on our perestroyka, which is helping Polish reformers to adopt a bolder and broader approach and creates a climate of creativity that is common to Poles and Soviet people.

Indeed, it is very important to create a climate of creativity and mutual trust and respect and to follow the road of cooperation, abandoning obsolete stereotypes and prejudices. In an interview, and T. Mazowiecki gives a great deal of them because of the obvious interest in the reforms in Poland, he said that absolute clarity and full information are prerequisites in our relations. It is necessary to carefully analyze questions of Polish-Soviet cooperation and elaborate an objective view of events.

The chief difficulty here, T. Mazowiecki said, is in the system of transactions, which is totally different from the one used in Poland's contacts with the West.

Economic cooperation is bound to be the main topic at the upcoming Soviet-Polish talks in Moscow. But I think that a great deal of attention, as the prime minister has stressed on several occasions, will be paid to identifying the so-called "blank pages" in the history of our relations and eliminating the barriers to recreating the whole truth, which, of course, would reassure public opinion: The peoples must not concentrate on claim and counterclaim.

The Polish papers in their coverage of L. Walesa's stay in the United States cite the following words from his speech to Congress: "At the present time we have the sympathy of our eastern neighbor and its leader, M. Gorbachev. This sympathy creates the basis for new and far better relations than before between Poland and the Soviet Union. We believe that genuine and favorable conditions for coexistence and friendship are appearing right now."

It is in this atmosphere of expectancy concerning the development of Soviet-Polish relations that Polish Council of Ministers Chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki will be paying his first visit to the Soviet Union.

Polish Embassy News Conference

LD2111134989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1247 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 21 Nov (TASS)—The upcoming visit to the USSR by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, confirms the mutual commitment of both countries to the further development and deepening of bilateral relations. This was stated at a press conference held here today at the Polish Embassy by Wladyslaw Klaczynski, deputy head of the Information Department of the Polish Foreign Ministry.

During the visit, the Polish Foreign Ministry representative reported, talks will be held between the Polish premier and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. He will be received by Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Wladyslaw Klaczynski said Tadeusz Mazowiecki will meet in Moscow with Soviet citizens of Polish nationality who live in various corners of the Soviet Union and will honor the memory of the Polish officers who died in Katyn, Smolensk Oblast. During his stay in Leningrad the Polish guest will meet with the intelligentsia and with workers from the city soviet, visit the Piskarevskoye memorial cemetery and become acquainted with the curator of art in the Hermitage and the Russian Museum.

The Polish Foreign Ministry representative stressed that relations between Poland and the Soviet Union are developing in a stable way and this is not tactics but a strategic course. They must be further consolidated, he said.

Wladyslaw Klaczynski announced that Poland will remain a member of the Warsaw Pact in the future as well, and said: We do not desire a destabilization of the situation in Europe.

Characterizing Poland's stand on inter-German relations, the Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that all nations have the right of self-determination. As for the unification of the GDR and the FRG, then this, in his words, concerns not only the Germans but also the four powers guaranteeing the postwar reconstruction of Germany. It is also necessary to take into account the views of neighbors, he said.

On the question of the Uniate Church, Wladislaw Klaczynski replied that the Polish state does not wish to interfere in the church's internal affair.

Aboimov, Polish Charge Meet

PM1511111589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, received J. Smolinski, Polish charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, 10 November. A number of questions pertaining to bilateral Soviet-Polish cooperation in the light of the upcoming visit to the USSR of T. Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, were discussed.

Yakovlev, Razumovskiy Receive Poland's Miller

LD2011180189 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—Politburo Member Aleksandr Yakovlev met Leszek Miller, Politburo member of the Polish United Workers' Party, today. Miller gave Yakovlev a message from First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PUWP Mieczyslaw Rakowski to General Secretary Gorbachev.

During a meeting held in a friendly atmosphere, Yakovlev and Miller exchanged ideas on improving relations betwen the CPSU and the PUWP as well as on topical international problems.

Also on Monday Miller met Alternate Politburo Member Georgiy Razumovskiy. They held an in-depth exchange of opinions on the CPSU and PUWP activities under the new conditions and discussed further cooperation between the two fraternal parties.

Miller is in the USSR on a working visit.

'Mixed Reaction' in Romania to Reform Noted

LD2011140989 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Sergey Zheleznyak commentary]

[Text] The Romanian Communist Party Congress opened in Bucharest on Monday. Sergey Zheleznyak reports:

First of all, about the party itself. It's undoubtedly one of the biggest parties in Europe, numbering about 4 million people, nearly every fourth adult resident in that country. Workers make up more than 50 percent of the party membership. There are quite a few workers among candidates to the party leadership, the Central Committee, and the Central Auditing Commission. According to the Romanian Communist Party rules, nominations to these bodies are made at local conferences. This time there are one-third more nominees than the number of candidates to be elected. The congress is also to elect a general secretary. On the threshold of the forum there were party and public meetings and conferences. The candidature of Nicolae Ceausescu as general secretary was endorsed.

The political and economic reforms underway in the socialist countries have evoked a mixed reaction in Romania. The Romanian Communist Party leadership has so far been adhering to the way of building socialism it earlier chose. It regards as reasonable only the perfection of the existing forms of party work and mechanisms to control the economy and the state as a whole. It favors centralized economic management on the basis of a single plan. The Romanian Communist Party leadership feels that stronger market ties and diverse property forms contribute to the erosion of the foundations of socialism. The Romanian Communist Party comes out for banning nuclear and chemical weapons. Along with the other Warsaw Treaty countries, it's been taking part in the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional arms. Romania regards the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance as a sound basis for closer cooperation between the socialist countries.

In his speech at a full-scale party meeting last month, Nicolae Ceausescu said that interaction between the communist parties was now more important then ever before. He proposed holding a major conference of the socialist countries to exchange views and draw conclusions from what had been achieved.

Press Praise of Ceausescu Precedes Congress

PM2011102789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Volodin dispatch: "'Bright Prospects, Major Tasks.' Approaching the 14th Romanian Communist Party Congress"]

[Text] Bucharest—The Socialist Republic of Romania [SRR] is on the eve of a most important event in the country's political and socioeconomic life—the 14th Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Congress. On the eve of the congress the press is noting the successes scored in the last 5 years and publishing working people's telegrams.

"To highly esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. In the atmosphere of mighty spiritual uplift in which working people and the entire people welcome the great forum of Romanian Communists, allow us to report, highly esteemed Comrade Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, hero among heroes and honorary miner of the country, that 110 coal miners of the team from the No. 4 Sector of Petrila Mine in Hunedoara Judet have fulfilled and overfulfilled their 5-year plan," the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA reports.

The pre-congress mood is also reflected by the judet-level party conferences held throughout the country. Local party organization delegates discussed at these conferences the 14th RCP Congress draft directive program for the SRR's socioeconomic development in 1991-1995 and in the period through 2000-2010.

This year N. Ceausescu was nominated as candidate for the post of party leader at an RCP Central Committee plenum held in June. Commenting on this decision, the political weekly LUMEA notes: "With a feeling of profound gratification and patriotic pride, Communists and all citizens of socialist Romania entirely approved the plenum decision to propose that the 14th congress reelect Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—hero among heroes, outstanding leader of the nation, brilliant architect of socialist Romania, and outstanding personality of our time—to the supreme office of RCP secretary general. In an atmosphere of lofty patriotic uplift," LUMEA goes on, "the Romanian people simultaneously express gratitude to Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee, first deputy prime minister, chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, and a scientist enjoying high international standing."

The RCP Central Committee organ SCINTEIA describes N. Ceausescu's nomination for the supreme party post as "reflecting the profound gratitude of Communists and all working people for the activity of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, esteemed and beloved leader of the party and the state, whose name is associated with all the country's great achievements going back to the Ninth RCP Congress." "The period whose beginning was marked by the ninth party congress, at which N. Ceausescu was entrusted with the leadership of the country's destiny, has finally gone down in national history under the name 'The Nicolae Ceausescu Epoch,'" the journal LUMEA emphasizes. "For almost a quarter of a century we have lived in an epoch of glorious accomplishments, when grand works which will live through the centuries were created under the wise and perspicacious leadership

of N. Ceausescu jointly with Elena Ceausescu, outstanding party and state figure," ROMANIA LIBERA writes.

The outstanding construction projects of the "golden age," as the Nicolae Ceausescu epoch is often described here, include the building of the Danube-Black Sea Canal, the hydroelectric power station dams on the Olt River, the Bucharest subway, and the white-stone Victory of Socialism Boulevard.

It is impossible to list everything that has been created in Romania since the time of "the major breakthrough when," the journal LUMEA notes, "the party elected as its head Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the most beloved son of the people and hero-Communist, who, with his daily titanic revolutionary activity, is leading the country along the path of progress and prosperity."

"Last spring our country fully repaid its external debt," the Romanian press writes. "For the first time ever in its long history, Romania will no longer be paying interest charges to anyone. It has gained genuine economic and political independence." Romania is approaching the present congress as one of the few countries in the world to have managed to cast off the chains of indebtedness. At the same time, it is obvious that the problems which have accumulated over the past years are still far from fully resolved. It is an open secret that the SRR leadership's decision to repay approximately $21 billion (with interest) within the briefest possible period was implemented at the cost of empty shelves in food stores, a sharp decline in the variety and quality of industrial goods on the domestic market, and rigid savings on heating.

An important place on the congress agenda will be occupied by questions which have been outlined in the theses proposed for various documents and which comprise the ideological platform of the RCP's activity in present-day conditions. It cannot be ruled out that the congress will also examine the situation in socialist countries and communist and workers parties where, as N. Ceausescu remarked at a recent RCP Central Committee plenum, "certain mistakes and errors are taking the form of liquidationist and reformist right-wing tendencies."

Assessing the program documents submitted for discussion by the 14th RCP Congress, the weekly LUMEA writes: "The theses for the party's lofty forum and the draft directive program for socioeconomic development in 1991-1995 and in the period through 2010 open up bright prospects for us and set us major tasks which are the fruit of the thought and labor of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, brilliant and farsighted leader."

Bulgarian Party, State Changes Viewed

PM2011124389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS reports under general heading: "Time of Crucial Decisions; Supreme Organs of Bulgarian Party and State Assess Situation in the Country"]

[Text] Sofia, 17 Nov—A plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee has been held here to examine some current and organizational questions. P. Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, made proposals for some cadre changes at the plenum.

P. Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, justified the proposal regarding the need to combine the duties of BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council at the present stage. On behalf of the BCP parliamentary group, this proposal will be submitted for examination by the National Assembly. P. Mladenov was nominated for the post of chairman of the State Council.

G. Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, set forth his position on structural and personnel changes in the Council of Ministers. His proposals were approved by the plenum and will be put forward for discussion and a decision at the forthcoming National Assembly session.

Those taking part in the plenum, the report disseminated here says, expressed in a profound and critical manner and with a sense of responsibility their view of the topical questions under discussion and the proposals put forward. They touched on urgent problems facing the party, the state, and all society today. They noted the enthusiasm with which the fundamental changes implemented at the BCP Central Committee 10 November Plenum were welcomed in the country. It was emphasized that the new political course aimed at genuine perestroyka is an objective prerequisite for overcoming the dissatisfaction and tension among a considerable proportion of society. Firm resolve was expressed to follow the line of the renewal of socialism in the country on the basis of democratization, glasnost, and each person's responsibility for the destiny of Bulgaria. All the speakers expressed themselves in support of the cadre changes proposals put forward by the Politburo.

The plenum relieved G. Filipov, M. Balev, and D. Stoyanov of their duties as Politburo members and secretaries of the BCP Central Committee and expelled them from the Central Committee and suggested that the National Assembly relieve them of their duties as members of the Bulgarian State Council. P. Danchev was relieved of his duties as candidate member of the Politburo and expelled from the Central Committee. S. Ovcharov was relieved of his duties as candidate member of the Politburo, V. Tsanov and E. Khristov were relieved of their duties as BCP Central Committee

secretaries, and V. Zhivkov, N. Stefanov, and Kh. Maleev were expelled from the Central Committee.

The plenum relieved Politburo Member Y. Yotov of his duties as secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

The plenum repealed its July and December 1988 decisions on the removal of S. Mikhaylov and S. Rusev from the BCP Central Committee.

Sofia, 17 Nov—A session of the Bulgarian National Assembly has been held here. Those taking part unanimously elected P. Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, chairman of the Bulgarian State Council.

The people's deputies relieved T. Zhivkov of this post. They sharply criticized the authoritarian style of leadership implanted to this day and characterized by crude voluntarism, conceit, and manifestations of nepotism and denounced the numerous unjustified reorganizations which, it was stressed, have seriously damaged the economy.

Addressing the session, P. Mladenov noted that he assesses his election to the supreme state post at a time of such difficulty for the country as a vote of confidence in the course of perestroyka outlined by the BCP Central Committee November (1989) Plenum. Our society, he stressed, stands on the threshold of a qualitatively new stage of its development. Every day, if not every hour, the foundations of the bureaucratic-edict system are being loosened and yesterday's idols of excessive administration are being destroyed. The fresh wind of change can be felt in the political atmosphere.

The Bulgarian parliament, the speaker then stressed, must restructure its work in such a way as to be able in the forthcoming complex period to reliably guarantee society's development and Bulgarian citizens' socioeconomic interests, freedoms, and rights. It is expected to assert avenues for the country's domestic and foreign policy which will ensure stability, security, and cooperation in the international sphere.

We are living in a complex time and we are encountering real forces in society which are closely linked with the compromised administrative-edict system, the Bulgarian leader continued. The reborn parliament can bar the way to dishonest ambitions and counter bureaucratic distortions and any illegal actions within the framework of the state mechanism. It is through a socialist parliament that direct and representative democracy, the direct link between the state authorities and the people as the supreme expression of the people's self management, should logically be implemented. Parliament under the conditions of renewal can and must play to the end the role of a powerful democratic popular alternative to the bureaucratic apparatus-state.

The session adopted decisions on changes to the composition of the Bulgarian State Council and the composition of the commission for preparing the draft law on changes to the Bulgarian Constitution.

Structural and personnel changes in the Council of Ministers were confirmed. Ministries of finance, industry and technology, domestic trade, construction, architecture and amenities, and a state committee for environmental conservation with the rights of a ministry are being created. The National Council for Education, Science, and Culture has been dissolved.

P. Danchev has been relieved of his duties as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; minister and member of government A. Fol of his duties as chairman of the National Council for Education, Science, and Culture; A. Lukanov of his duties as minister of foreign economic relations; P. Mladenov of his duties as foreign minister; and S. Ovcharov of his duties as minister of economics and planning.

The Bulgarian National Assembly has appointed G. Pirinski deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers and Bulgaria's CEMA representative; K. Zarev deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of economics and planning; M. Yovchev deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of industry and technology; S. Mikhaylov deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; B. Belchev minister of finances; B. Dimitrov minister of foreign affairs; I. Shpatov minister of domestic trade; N. Dyulgerov chairman of the State Committee for Environmental Conservation; P. Petrov minister of construction, architecture, and amenities; and Kh. Khristov minister of foreign economic relations. The parliament approved G. Yordanov as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and A. Khadzhiolov as minister of public education.

Foreign Trade Minister Meets SFRY Counterpart

LD2011150889 Moscow TASS in English 1448 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—Soviet-Yugoslavian trade will grow in 1990 to exceed 6.4 billion dollars under a trade protocol signed here today by Soviet Minister for External Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev and his Yugoslavian counterpart Franc Horvat.

The protocol took into account the sides' obligations stemming from a long-term intergovernmental agreement for 1986-1990 and other accords.

At the signing ceremony Katushev spoke highly of the results of his talks with Horvat. He said both sides focused on specific measures to cut the imbalance in mutual trade.

The Soviet minister noted that the Soviet deficit in trade with Yugoslavia had been brought about by the fall in

world oil prices, as energy carriers are major items of Soviet exports to Yugoslavia.

The imbalance has remained, although Soviet exports, including oil, have markedly surpassed the 1989 target, Katushev said.

He described the protocol as "a step forward on the way to balanced mutual trade" and expressed hope that this trade will be balanced by the end of the next five-year plan period (1991-1995).

The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia plan to develop their cooperation next year on the basis of production cooperation in the automobile industry and in the production of walking excavators, woodworking equipment, television sets, medical X-ray equipment and aviation technology.

They will also continue mutual deliveries of goods of major importance to their economies. Specifically, Yugoslavia will export to the Soviet Union some raw materials, including alumina, machine building products and many other goods.

Secretary Girenko Receives SFRY Ambassador

PM2011160989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Reception for Ambassador"]

[Text] A.N. Girenko, CPSU Central Committee secretary, received M. Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR, 15 November. On the instructions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the ambassador issued the CPSU Central Committee an invitation to send a CPSU delegation to the 14th (extraordinary) LCY Congress, which will be held in Belgrade 20-22 January 1990. During a conversation that took place in a warm and comradely atmosphere they broached certain questions of the CPSU and LCY activity.

SFRY Leaders Concerned at Continuing Strife

PM1511150989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Ye. Vostrukhov dispatch under the "IZVESTIYA Correspondents Comment" rubric: "Yugoslavia: New Threat to the Federation"]

[Text] Belgrade—TANJUG reports that a session of the SFRY Presidency in Belgrade analyzed the situation in the country in the light of exacerbating interethnic relations. Presidency members expressed serious concern at the actions of nationalist groupings which are posing a threat to constitutional order in Yugoslavia and its integrity and sovereignty.

Presidents of the presidencies of union republics and autonomous provinces and senior leaders of federation bodies took part in the session. It was noted that deteriorating interethnic relations in some regions, particularly Kosovo, are having an adverse effect on the political situation in the country as a whole and on the SFRY's position in the world. Ethnically-motivated clashes run counter to the interests of all the peoples and ethnic groups of Yugoslavia and obstruct the implementation of the reforms underway, the overcoming of the economic crisis, and the curbing of inflation.

The presidency again stressed that all contentious issues must be tackled by constructive talks in an atmosphere of openness and trust, without mutual recriminations. The session participants came to the conclusion that since the aggravated interethnic relations are again threatening the Yugoslav Federation, they should be given far more attention.

The current situation in Kosovo has just been examined at a session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium which stated that aggressive attacks by separatists and nationalists have resulted in new victims in the autonomous province and are generating fear and anxiety among people. The nationalists are trying to exert political pressure on state bodies, which are taking measures to stabilize the position in Kosovo.

Worrying news has been coming out of various cities in the province in recent days. Representatives of the forces of public order and an armed group of extremists fought one another for 6 hours in the Sunny Bank housing development in Pristina City, the autonomous province's capital. In an attempt to escape, the extremists burst into a high-rise apartment block, made their way down to the basement, barricaded themselves in, and then fired automatic weapons for several hours. And this in a housing development where more than 1,000 people live. The whole complexity of the situation and their responsibility for the lives of people was well understood by the militia inspectors put in charge of the operation of rooting out this extremist grouping. And they succeeded in their task. None of the inhabitants of the area was hurt.

Apart from the drama enacted at the Sunny Bank housing development, nationalists also fired on militiamen in other streets of the capital. This indicates that the separatists had long prepared their attacks and laid in weapons (ranging from knives to pistols and automatic weapons) and munitions, waiting for a suitable moment to strike.

But it can now be stated with certainty that the provocative attacks by nationalists did not receive wide support from the population. They are condemned by the overwhelming majority of Albanians living in Kosovo. The separatists' aggressive actions were condemned by a provincial party committee plenum held in Pristina. The plenum showed that the province's Communists have not only not lost their heads in the difficult situation,

but, on the contrary, have been closing ranks and carrying out skillful political work among the masses. The plenum stressed that the future of Yugoslavia and of the whole federation is now being decided in Kosovo. In this regard the plenum approved the Kosovo Communists' action program in these extreme circumstances.

The SFRY Government has also expressed its concern at the exacerbation of the situation in Kosovo. TANJUG reports that the Federal Executive Council has instructed the country's Federal Assembly to augment the nationwide aid program to Kosovo. An SFRY Federal Assembly working party has left for Kosovo to give concrete assistance in elaborating this program.

West Europe

EEC Paris Summit Opts for 'Cautious Approach'

PM2011170589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Yu. Kovalenko dispatch under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Correspondents Comment": "France: A Cautious Approach. Some of the Results of the Paris Summit"]

[Text] Paris—The European Community is prepared to give economic assistance to the socialist countries, President F. Mitterrand of France stated at a press conference held at the end of the extraordinary summit of the heads of state and government of the 12 EEC member states. On F. Mitterrand's initiative they gathered in Paris Saturday night to discuss the situation in Eastern Europe.

However, the assistance to socialist countries from the West will be given only on condition that they return to democracy, respect human rights, and hold free elections, the president of France noted.

So what decisions were adopted at the Paris conference? F. Mitterrand announced that the question of setting up a bank for the development and modernization of socialist states and a cadre training fund is to be discussed. They are to be given access to West European programs in the sphere of education and to certain scientific and technical projects. In addition, these countries will be enabled to take part as observers in the activities of a number of Western organizations and institutions such as the Council of Europe and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

A number of the decisions adopted in Paris apply only to Hungary and Poland. F. Mitterrand announced that credits of $1 billion each are to be granted to these two countries with the agreement of the IMF, and a "Poland stabilization fund" is to be set up.

The "Common Market" will brief M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush, with whom the French president talked by telephone before the beginning of the meeting, on all the results of the meeting. In addition, F. Mitterrand will be meeting with the U.S. President next month, and—the local press asserts—with the CPSU Central Committee general secretary in December or early January.

E. Cresson, French minister for European affairs, has said that the community countries' foreign ministers, who met in parallel with the heads of state and government, had come to an agreement that it is necessary to modify the restrictive regulations of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls [COCOM].

Nonetheless, the results of the Paris summit evoke a certain disappointment. Far-reaching initiatives and bolder proposals for cooperation were expected here, and the results appear relatively modest. Objections have also been evoked by the fact that the promised aid is to be subject to certain conditions.

This disappointment is connected with the fact that of late Western leaders have made a lot of ringing statements in support of the historic transformations in Eastern Europe, about the need to develop ties between both parts of the continent, about solidarity and readiness to give assistance, and so forth. Yet when it came to specific measures a cautious approach has prevailed.

Obviously this has happened because a unanimous viewpoint in respect of the changes under way in the socialist countries is still lacking inside the European Community. Certain politicians are afraid that these changes may have unpredictable consequences and hamper West European development.

Nonetheless, and Mitterrand emphasized this once again at the press conference, the majority agrees with the opinion that the ultimate aim is the creation of a "united Europe." Differences arise on how this aim is to be achieved and how relations with the socialist world should be built from now on. It is possible that the EEC will clarify its line at its next summit in Strasbourg 8-9 December.

A network of organizations and political institutions exists now which could play an important role in deepening all-European processes. Many people in the West believe that it is necessary to step up activities within the framework of the CSCE and seek new forms of cooperation between the European Community and CEMA, and with individual socialist states.

West Europe, observers note, must not miss the opportunity to usher in an unprecedented stage in East-West relations. During this stage our concept of the common European home assumes special significance: It is necessary to give it a concrete content.

The deepening of the all-European process, as was noted at the Paris summit, is connected with the success of restructuring in socialist countries. At the same time stability, the observance of agreements, maintenance of the existing balance of forces, and inviolability of borders are needed in Europe. Therefore, in answer to a journalist's question about the possibility of unification between the FRG and the GDR which is being discussed

from various angles here, F. Mitterrand stressed: This question is not being raised at the moment either by these two countries, or by the German people. Many politicians who hold different views are stressing that this problem is not topical at the moment.

The elaboration of a new system of East-West relations and the overcoming of the division of Europe into two camps is accompanied by great difficulties. According to views expressed at the Paris summit it will be facilitated by progress in the sphere of disarmament, and specifically by progress at the Vienna and Geneva talks and the reinforcement of confidence-building measures.

People in the West are well aware that a turning point has been reached in the history of our continent. In the words of R. Dumas, the French foreign minister, conditions and opportunities exist for a "great reconciliation" of the whole of Europe. Whether this will be achieved depends both on the East and the West. Only through joint efforts will it be possible to resolve all existing problems and achieve radical progress in relations.

FRG's Suessmuth, France's Fabius Visit

Meet Parliamentarians, Comment

AU1611171889 Paris AFP in English 1623 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 16 (AFP)—The Governments of France and West Germany share the same views on what stance to take toward political changes in Eastern Europe, the speaker of the West German parliament said here Thursday. Bundestag speaker Rita Suessmuth, on a joint visit to Moscow with her French counterpart Laurent Fabius, said "there are no divergences between the positions of France and West Germany on the attitude to adopt toward the countries of Eastern Europe."

Mr. Fabius said one of the key purposes of the visit was "to show the East the common commitment of the French and the West Germans to European construction and Franco-German friendship."

Mr. Fabius and Ms. Suessmuth met Thursday with Yevgeniy Primakov and Rafik Nishanov, the speakers of the Soviet parliament's two chambers. The two are to meet with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev Friday.

Received by Primakov, Nishanov

LD1611210589 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow Noveber 16 TASS—Chairmen of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet Yevgeniy Primakov and Rafik Nishanov had a meeting with West German Bundestag President Rita Suessmuth and President of the National Assembly of France Laurent Fabius here today. The meeting was marked by a friendly atmosphere.

The presidents of two Western parliaments are on a joint official visit to our country at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

That we have come here together is an indication that the West German Bundestag and the National Assembly of France are interested to have stronger relations with the USSR Supreme Soviet [no attribution, as received].

Laurent Fabius, on his part, said it was desirable to establish direct relations between parliamentary commissions and committees, working groups and parliamentary apparatus employees. He expressed the opinion that cooperation and exchange of experience on a tripartite basis could develop in such areas as ecology, legislation and East-West relations.

Both sides noted that close parliamentary cooperation can positively affect the all-European process and stabilisation of the situation in the continent.

In the course of the talk the guests learnt about the activities of the new Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the tasks facing it at the current perestroyka stage and ways of solving them.

The guests were interested in the problems of interethnic relations in the USSR, economic development, relationships between people's deputies and electors and the political climate in the country.

Meet With Lukyanov

LD1711210289 Moscow TASS in English 2036 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov met in the Kremlin on Friday afternoon West German Bundestag Chairman Rita Suessmuth and French National Assembly Chairman Laurent Fabius who were in Moscow on an official visit.

During a friendly conversation, the parties noted with satisfaction that the joint visit to the Soviet Union of the parliamentary leaders of the two West European countries attests to a new quality of relations among different European countries.

The parties discussed a number of specific proposals aiming to further deepen links and contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet, the West German Bundestag and the National Assembly of France.

Give News Conference

LD1811023389 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—To promote the further reduction of tension in East-West relations and consolidate cooperation between European countries is the aim of a joint visit to the Soviet Union of West German Bundestag Chairman Rita Suessmuth and French National Assembly Chairman Laurent Fabius.

"In European affairs, West Germany and France must play an important role in improving relations with the Soviet Union. This is the reason for our trip," they told journalists here today.

Suessmuth and Fabius spoke about their impressions of meetings with Soviet leaders and other officials. They specifically dwelled on their conversation on Friday with President Mikhail Gorbachev. The conversation covered an extensive range of questions relating to Soviet perestroyka and the construction of a common European home.

The parliamentary leaders told a news conference they supported Soviet transformations aiming to democratise Soviet society.

They said that during their meetings with members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the sides expressed their common desire to develop parliamentary cooperation in the fields of environmental protection and international relations.

The Soviet Union, West Germany and France must be at the core of European construction, the parliamentarians stressed.

Fabius on Talks With Gorbachev

LD1811102489 Paris Domestic Service in French 1200 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Laurent Fabius is in Moscow, where he met with Mikhail Gorbachev this morning. He was accompanied by the speaker of the Bundestag, the West German house of deputies. You need not be a specialist in international relations to guess what they talked about. Laurent Fabius did not find Gorbachev worried by these upheavals in the East, as he told Simone Tivolle:

[Begin Fabius recording] I did not find him worried. However, I did find him anxious to restate a certain number of times this point in particular: Yes to democratization, we shall continue it; we have married democracy and we have not gotten divorced. Thus, yes to democratization, but we need stability. We need stability in the economic field, among the nationalities and, above all—and this was one of the aims of our conversation—on the European plane in relation to what is happening in Germany. What is happening in the GDR is very positive, because it is a move toward democracy, but the borders cannot be challenged. [end recording]

Depart 17 Nov

LD1811023789 Moscow TASS in English 1659 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—West German Bundestag Chairperson Rita Suessmuth and French National Assembly Chairman Laurent Fabius left Moscow on Friday [17 November].

They had paid an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Shevardnadze Receives French Ambassador

18 November

LD1811201589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Shevardnadze today received Jean-Marie Gaston Merillon, French ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request. Their conversation related to the further development of Franco-Soviet political dialogue on topical issues of the situation in Europe and the world.

20 November

LD2011171889 Moscow TASS in English 1709 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today met French Ambassador to the Soviet Union Jean-Marie Merillon.

They discussed some matters related to Soviet-French relations.

Yazov Begins Official Visit to Austria

Previews Visit

LD2011093189 Moscow TASS in English 0849 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—"Our bilateral military contacts develop and grow stronger within the context of the overall Soviet-Austrian political dialogue," Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, told TASS in connection with his visit to Austria, which begins today.

Soviet-Austrian cooperation has been serving as an example of fruitful relations between countries belonging to different social systems for more than three decades now, Yazov recalled.

"This visit is yet another illustration of progress in the relationship between the Soviet Union and Austria.

"Soviet-Austrian relations are characterised by stability and dynamism, by consideration for each other's interests, identity or proximity of views on many basic problems of our time and on ways to resolve them."

"This is particularly important now that it is essential to consolidate and deepen the positive trends in world development," he emphasised.

Yazov believes that this applies primarily to the European continent which has always been a kind of barometer of East-West relations.

Following long years of post-war confrontation the Europeans have for the first time got a real opportunity to organise their lives on the principles of trust, mutual

understanding and cooperation, the principles that are singularly worthy of human beings.

Mankind can survive only if it succeeds in rising above things that divide it and directs all its efforts towards the joint building of a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world, Yazov believes.

"We are still at the very beginning of the process," Yazov said. "Very much is yet to be done, first of all to do away with dangerous military confrontation in Europe."

Neutral and nonaligned countries make a tangible contribution to improvements in the political climate in Europe and around the world, Yazov said.

Soviet people regard Austria, a neutral country, with respect and cherish friendly relations wit it, he added.

"The development of versatile Soviet-Austrian cooperation, including in the military sphere, meets the interests of both the peoples of our two countries and all European peoples and the interests of international security," Yazov said.

Arrives in Vienna

LD2011115189 Moscow TASS in English 1117 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Vienna November 20 TASS—Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov arrived in Austria today for an official visit.

At the capital's Schwechat Airport the Soviet defence minister was met by Robert Lichal, Austrian minister of national defence, and other officials.

Among the welcoming party was also Gennadiy Shikin, Soviet ambassador to Austria.

Yazov will hold talks with Lichal, will familiarise himself with the way the training of officers in Austrian military educational establishments is organized, and will tour Austrian Army units.

During the visit the Soviet guest will meet Austrian President Kurt Waldheim and Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky.

Says EC Not Current Topic

AU2111103689 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 21 Nov 89 p 2

["E.H." report: "Soviet Minister Yazov: EC Not Current Topic"]

[Text] The Soviet Defense Minister Dimitriy Yazov was welcomed at Vienna Airport with all military honors on Monday [20 November]. Yazov is paying a return visit to his Austrian counterpart Robert Lichal, who was in Moscow in 1988.

Asked about the Vienna disarmament talks, the Soviet minister stated: "We have already withdrawn three divisions and are currently removing another three. I see more problems in the sphere of air forces, but we will also find a solution here." Arms sales and military aspects of an Austrian EC entry are not currently topics, he pointed out.

In a talk with Minister Lichal, Yazov stressed the "trouble-free relations" between Austria and the USSR. Austria has not only declared its neutrality, but also tried to stand by it. Like Switzerland and Finland, Austria could play an important role in the field of detente and disarmament.

Notes Progress on Disarmament

AU2011213889 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Soviet Defense Minister Dimitriy Yazov has begun a 4-day visit to Austria today to return a visit that Defense Minister Robert Lichal paid to the USSR last year. The 66-year-old general is considered a representative of Mikhail Gorbachev's disarmament course.

The Soviet defense minister arrived in Vienna by a Tupolev-154 special plane today. Yazov was welcomed by Defense Minister Lichal, troop Inspector-General Tauschitz, and the Vienna military commander. Yazov was received with all military honors.

Prior to his talks with Minister Lichal, the Soviet defense minister said that the Vienna conventional disarmament conference was making good progress, and that far-reaching agreement has been achieved on tanks, helicopters, armored personnel carriers, and guns. He said that there were, however, major differences on aircraft; their types and numbers were a matter of controversy between East and West. However, the Soviet Union would continue to show good will, Yazov said. The Soviet defense minister will inform himself in Austria about how the Army is meeting its obligation to protect the country's neutrality.

Holds Talks with Lichal

LD2011143889 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Vienna November 20 TASS—Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov met his Austrian counterpart Robert Lichal today.

During a meeting held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and frankness, the sides discussed the further strengthening of Soviet-Austrian relations in the military sphere and other issues of mutual interest.

Austrian Defense Minister Interviewed Before Trip

PM2011162189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Austria: Interview With Defense Minister"]

[Text] Vienna, 17 Nov—In connection with the upcoming official visit to Austria by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, Austrian Defense Minister R. Lichal gave an interview to TASS correspondents. I would like to note with satisfaction, he pointed out, that the relations between our countries have developed very well for many years. As for their military aspect, during my visit to Moscow in 1988 we discussed the question of the possibility, for instance, of exchanging officers for training in Austria and the Soviet Union respectively.

Being a neutral country in the heart of Europe, Austria is interested in establishing military equilibrium on the continent at the lowest possible level. That is why we are in favor of the Warsaw Pact and NATO considerably cutting back their armed forces and arms to ensure that they are guided in their military policy by defensive doctrines.

The building of Austria's Armed Forces, their arms, and their training are geared to defense. The Alpine republic has no offensive potential. Its neutrality means that it belongs to no military alliance and does not allow foreign military bases to be set up on its territory, R. Lichal stressed.

German DKP Women Activists Visit USSR

PM1511151189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Interparty Contacts"]

[Text] A delegation of women activists from the German Communist Party [DKP] led by I. Nedinger, member of the DKP Presidium and DKP Board Secretariat, was in the Soviet Union on 6-12 November at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. The West German Communists took part in the ceremonial events dedicated to the 72d anniversary of the October Revolution, had meetings and conversations in CPSU Central Committee departments and the Moscow city party committee, and visited an industrial enterprise. They took part in a "roundtable" discussion in the Soviet Women's Committee on the problems of women's position and ensuring their equal participation in political and social life.

Girenko Meets With Spanish Communist Party Head

LD1811051889 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Madrid November 17 TASS—A Soviet Communist Party delegation, led by CPSU Central Committee Secretary Andrey Girenko, met General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain Julio Anguita here today.

They discussed a broad range of questions of mutual interest in a friendly talk. Representatives of both parties favoured the development and consolidation of fraternal relations and cooperation between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Spain.

The CPSU delegation is in Spain for the funeral of chair of the Communist Party of Spain Dolores Ibarruri.

CPSU Condolences on PCE's Ibarruri's Death

PM1611163189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee condolences to Spanish Communist Party]

[Text] To the Spanish Communist Party [PCE] Central Committee

Dear Comrades!

Soviet Communists and our country's working people learned with profound sorrow of the death of Comrade Dolores Ibarruri, who is dear to us all.

In Dolores Spain has lost an experienced fighter for the working people's vital interests, for peace, democracy, and social progress. An ardent patriot has departed this life, an ardent revolutionary and internationalist, and an inflexible antifascist. She made an unforgettable historic contribution to the formation and strengthening of relations of friendship between the Spanish and Soviet peoples. The CPSU will continue to do everything possible to further develop this friendship.

The CPSU Central Committee expresses profound condolences to the PCE Central Committee, all Spanish Communists, and the people of Spain.

The glorious memory of D. Ibarruri—the remarkable daughter of the Spanish people—will always remain in our hearts.

We ask you to send our sincere condolences to Dolores Ibarruri's relatives and friends.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee.

Girenko Delegation Returns From Ibarruri Funeral

PM2111090389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Return of Delegation"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation comprising A.N. Girenko, CPSU Central Committee secretary (delegation leader), and V.I. Fedotova, USSR people's deputy and editor in chief of SOVETSKAYA ZHENSHCHINA magazine, which went to Spain for the funeral of D. Ibarruri, chairman of the Spanish Communist Party, returned from Madrid to Moscow 18 November.

Laverov, Spanish Official on Technical Program

PM2011161189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received J. Rojo, state secretary for scientific studies and universities and member of the Spanish Government, 16 November.

They exchanged opinions on the progress made in preparing a new long-term program for USSR-Spanish Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

J. Cuenca, Spanish ambassador to the USSR, was present during the conversation.

Latin America & Caribbean

Bush Pledges Aid to El Salvador

LD2111093489 Moscow TASS in English 0820 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 21 TASS—President George Bush has said that the United States intends to continue military and economic aid to El Salvador, the scene of fierce clashes recently between Salvadorean insurgents and the pro-American regime's army.

Speaking at the Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland, on Monday, the President strongly criticised the prevailing Congressional sentiments in favour of the termination of aid to the Salvadorean Government.

"This concept of the Congress, of some members—talking about cutting off aid to El Salvador is absolutely unacceptable to me as president." he said.

"We support President Cristiani and his efforts to restore order," Bush said.

The President accused the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, fighting for national independence and democracy, of being financed by "Marxists". Meanwhile the volume of Washington's military and economic aid to the Salvadorean regime is known to exceed 1.5 million dollars.

"To continue to have a handful of countries around—a very small handful—supporting the outdated concept of Marxist guerrillas, is unacceptable to the United States," the President said. "And I am to tell the Congress of the United States that I will not accept, as President, a cut off of aid to El Salvador," he said.

The President said "we cannot condone killing" in El Salvador, ignoring the fact that the notorious "death squads", paramilitary extreme right-wing formations, have killed scores of thousands of civilians in the past few years. Civilians, suspected of links with guerrillas, are immediately executed, the American press has reported.

According to the Associated Press, there are 55 American military advisers in El Salvador, some of them involved in terroristic "death squad" operations, as well as many U.S. Secret Service employees.

Panamanian Trade Delegation Talks in Moscow

PA1811001289 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2322 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Panamanian servicing of Soviet vessels fishing in the south seas and the possibility of the Soviets using Panamanian shipyards for repairs were among the topics discussed by a Panamanian delegation led by Planning Minister Gustavo Gonzalez during a visit to the USSR.

The delegation visited the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, Ministry of Fish Industry, Ministry of Civil Aviation, and the (Provintord) Group.

The Soviets briefed the Panamanians on the bank's possibilities and plans. The desire to open an air route between Panama and the USSR was also discussed during the talks between the Panamanians and the Soviet Civil Aviation Ministry.

More on Delegation's Visit

PA1911044089 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2301 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] The possibility that Soviet vessels may use Panamanian shipyards for repair work, the willingness to open air traffic routes between the two countries, and the trading of food products are some of the achievements reached by the official Panamanian delegation that has traveled to the USSR.

The delegation headed by Planning and Economic Policy Minister Gustavo Gonzalez was welcomed by their Moscow counterparts, especially by officials from the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, whose president of the board of directors, Yuriy Moskovskiy, showed interest in these fields.

As for the fishing industry, both sides talked about the service our country could provide to the Soviet merchant

fleet, which conducts fishing operations in the southern seas.

Following the talks with the Civil Aviation Ministry, a memorandum was drafted, which will be sent to our country and which will serve as a basis for a cooperation agreement in this regard.

In addition, the Foreign Trade Ministry, which conducts food trading operations, mentioned the possibility of reaching agreements at a future date.

Netherlands Antilles To Set Up Radio Studios

FL1411161389 Bonaire Trans World Radio in English 1130 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Trans World Radio International has been given permission to set up radio production facilities inside the Soviet Union. It was announced on November 10 that Soviet officials have granted the okay for at least three studios—one in Moscow, one in Kiev, and another in Minsk. They also grant a mobile recording vehicle and several portable recording units. Trans World Radio will be working with the Evangelical community within the Soviet Union in transmitting the gospel.

Economic Reform Conference

Abalkin Answers Questions on Economic Conference

LD1711235989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1903 GMT on 17 November carries a 37-minute recording of a news conference held on 15 November with Leonid Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the conclusion of the scientific and practical conference held in Moscow to discuss Soviet economic reform. Video shows Abalkin on rostrum. An unidentified chairman opens the news conference:

"Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, we have invited you to a meeting in connection with the conclusion of the all-union scientific and practical conference on radical economic reform. This conference opened on Monday and ended today in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Unions." "Today Academician Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, will share his impressions on the conference with you."

Urgent measures, Abalkin says, must be taken to implement economic reform, and these measures must be drawn up before the Congress. Taking part in the conference were experts in all fields, to discuss as openly as possible, with all possible opinions represented, a nationwide program to take into account of all shades of opinion. The program must be realistic, comprehensive, and bold. The conference yielded a great deal of material over the 3 days it was held.

The first question is from a TASS correspondent who asks about the basis for the theory of the transitional period.

Abalkin says one main issue is how to move from a nonmarket economy to a market economy, how to create the infrastructure. The program is based upon a critical evaluation of past experience, both in the USSR and abroad; a scientific and theoretical analysis was also made. All this went into the proposals advanced.

A BTA correspondent asks about consensus on the issues discussed and on approaches to republican financial autonomy.

Abalkin says consensus is impossible in such cases: Full agreement would mean stagnation in thinking. All aspects must be weighed and conclusions reached. Agreement on the basic fundamentals was, however, attained: Without reform, we have an impasse. Consensus in the sense of an understanding of the responsibility of the decisions to be made was thus reached. Financial autonomy must be introduced in the republics from 1990, which leaves very little time. Huge price changes are impossible, but we are compelled to take interim measures to compensate until full measures are implemented. The source of republican budgets have been precisely defined, and further measures and amendments can be made in 1991 when other republics move to financial autonomy.

The FINANCIAL TIMES correspondent, speaking in english with superimposed Russian translation, asks: "A question from the FINANCIAL TIMES: Could you tell us what specific changes must be made in your economic program as a result of the conference? It seemed to us that the reaction to your program was pretty disappointing. Do you agree with that assessment?"

Abalkin responds: "The conference yielded no fundamental changes, no rejections of any directions or stages of reform. Conservative moods, however, turned out to be stronger than I had assumed before the conference started. This perhaps reflects the general changes in the social situation in the country, which is today substantially different from the situation in the summer, the summer of this year. This must be taken into account, this complex development of events: One cannot simply brush it aside, one must be ready for it.

"I cannot as yet fully evaluate what was done in the sections—work went on in eight sections, four roundtables, and over 200 people spoke—all this must be looked at attentively, some interesting ideas, and amplifications may evidently be found there. And only then will it be possible to evaluate fully the quality of the discussions."

A Portuguese correspondent asks whether public opinion might oppose the changes needed to emerge from impasse. The correspondent also asks what will be the role of the congress.

Abalkin responds that public opinion is vital; attempts have been made to play with public opinion and manipulate it. Public opinion must be mobilized—it is awaiting constructive measures and decisions. The congress will certainly be very turbulent and contradictory. We must learn to listen and heed one another, we must overcome social "deafness."

An Italian correspondent asks in English about opposition in society to private ownership.

Abalkin says the law on ownership, like the law on taxation must be submitted for nationwide discussion. As an economist, Abalkin says that it is very common for terms to be misunderstood, terminology is a source of misunderstanding and therefore of tension. Terms such as private ownership and cooperatives have been interpreted in different ways, giving rise to unnecessary polemic. We must not try to put over new thinking in the old terminology of the 19th Century.

An EL PAIS correspondent, in Russian, asks: "The newspaper EL PAIS, Spain. I should like to learn about ruble convertibility—that is one point; then also about a system of rationing, and third, parallel money—chervonets."

Abalkin replies: "I believe the opinion is general and prevalent that there is a need for a Soviet ruble to be convertible. The only difference is in the professional and the nonprofessional views of how to make the switch. The difference lies in the fact that the professional assessment—as held by all the great experts, not just in the Soviet Union but in the west, too—is that convertibility cannot be introduced by decree. We cannot just convene a session of the Supreme Soviet and vote to introduce ruble convertibility as of 1 January. In order for this to come about, we must have within the country a developed market economy, a price structure akin to the price structure on the world market. We must have a developed infrastructure with the circulation of domestic securities and at least what we call internal ruble convertiblility. We must have well-trained professionals. We must have a whole host of other conditions which cannot be created just by decree or administrative decisions made purely at will. This is the road we must go down. But we must go down it aware of all its complexities. This must be the case at subsequent stages in this movement, as well.

"A system of rationing is, in my opinion, an unacceptable path. We asked the country's leading academics and economists for an analysis of this problem and of the possible economic and social consequences. We had virtually total unanimity from them in their assessment of the inexpediency and of the socioeconomic unjustifiability of such a move. It does not feature in the program of our actions. If we succeed in implementing the steps that have been mapped out in the course of this year and next year, then this issue will have been removed from discussion by the start of the 1990's. If this program is not implemented—if something prevents it from being carried through—and if by the end of 1990...by the start of the 1990's we are unable to stabilize the situation in the country, then a system of rationing will be inevitable, but that will be the end of the reform.

"The question of a parallel currency is a question that is open to discussion. It is open to discussion. There are many plans and proposals on this score, but there has been no decision on this matter. There are pros and cons. It is not celar which outweigh which, or by how much. We need some more time to form a definite opinion, but there is less than a month for this."

An APN correspondent asks about the difficulty of the present state of affairs and whether the population expected to wait.

Abalkin says everyone is waiting for an instant miracle. In the past, he says, it is at times like this that reports of UFO's start circulating. We must convince public opinion, by means of the truth and nothing but the truth. Huge disappointments are inevitable after huge illusions. The unfortunate must be made aware of the state's concern for their well-being. We must not give way to emotions. The individual must be made to feel his own responsibility and the importance of this work. The republics must be given their chance: In 1990 they must be zones of change; they must show that things are changing for the better.

An ABC correspondent, speaking in English with superimposed Russian translation, asks: "President Bush has said that he wants perestroyka to succeed. What steps would you like the United States to take in the economic sphere to help perestroyka succeed?"

Abalkin responds: "We must do most of the work ourselves. I remember what Bush said about Poland and Hungary. He was quite right, I think, when he said, as a wise and realistic politician, that the Poles and Hungarians themselves must bring their country out of economic crisis, just like the Soviet people must do. We must do this ourselves. I am concerned most by what must be done in our country in these matters. As for what can be expected of the United States of America, which might be of assistance, I do not wish to develop this topic, because apart from the most general concepts with which you have all long been familiar—decide the issue of the most-favoured nation system, remove some other restrictions—I shall not be enriching our knowledge with anything."

A (?HARLEMS DAGLAD) correspondent, speaking in Russian, asks: "We did not all manage to follow the debates conducted at the conference. Could you perhaps tell us more specifically which points gave rise to the most negative reaction from the conservatives, and how do you reckon to break this opposition?"

Abalkin answers: "We have a great deal of historical experience on how to break the opposition. [laughter in hall] Therefore, the main task is how to learn to hold a dialogue with the opposition. The best way is to compel the conservatives to do battle with the radicals, while we get on calmly with the job at hand. [laughter] That would be the wisest solution, we have both radicals and conservatives. At the same time, we must take all the valuable and useful and sensible things offered by both of these, and include these in our programme and get on along our own way. As for the aspects which came in for criticism, I would limit myself to just two approaches. Emotions carried over from meetings were present at the conference; and there were also scientific discussions.

"Everything starts at the very beginning: Should state property be left unaltered, or should we start to modernize and renew, make it more flexible and start the process of de-etatization, given labor collectives on this basis the freedom to decide matters independently and to elect their manager. Or should we maintain the system of administration by injunction. Should we move to a market with new laws of regulating it, with flexible and mobile prices. Or should we as before keep prices unambiguously under harsh state control. A quite normal process is under way, not a very pleasant one, but a normal process of counterposing and weighing up and so forth. At the same time—and this is also a very well known thing—the existence of any opposition compels

one to sharpen one's instruments of argument, compels one to weigh up more attentively the possible consequences, which might be overlooked were there no such criticism. Altogether, in the final analysis, if there is no destructive action and no struggle, one can derive useful things from this, if one regards taking account of diverse points of view as a factor making it possible to ensure a more realistic program of action.

"Thank you for the interest you have shown in the work of our conference and in our commission's work. Thank you."

Supreme Soviet Session

Moscow TV Airs 20 Nov Supreme Soviet Proceedings

1600 GMT

LD2011174289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT, on 20 November begins carrying a recorded relay of the 20 November Supreme Soviet morning session in the Kremlin.

The morning session is chaired by Nishanov, who says there is a quorum for the joint session of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities and declares the session open. He states that if the agenda is not completed this week, it is not excluded that the session may have to continue next week. A draft law on the press may find its way into the agenda if documentation is provided in time. Today the general principles of managing the national economy of the republics will be discussed, further aspects may be included in accordance with notes submitted by deputies.

At 1604 GMT, an unidentified Baltic people's deputy asks about a debate on the Draft Law on Financial Autonomy of the Baltic Republics.

At 1606 GMT, an unidentified asks why various aspects of the Baltic republics' autonomous economic management has not be included in the agenda.

At 1607 GMT, Deputy Prunskene asks about the general principles of the draft on the republican economic autonomy.

At 1608 GMT, Bichkauskas protests that one issue, namely republican autonomy, was excluded from the agenda: Nishanov says this is not so, and puts an end to procedural matters.

At 1610 GMT, People's Deputy Nikolskiy of the Commission on Glasnost asks about items on agenda: the Law on the Press is not on agenda.

At 1611 GMT, Obolenskiy asks about a decision on banning demonstrations.

At 1612 GMT, Deputy Vulfson says that on 18 November a demonstration was held in Riga with 500,000 people taking part, at which questions were asked about why the issue of a confederation was not being discussed. The same issue is doubtlessly being discussed in the other Baltic republics. It was promised that this matter would be discussed in October at the USSR Supreme Soviet. The date for the second reading must be set.

At 1614 GMT, Belozertsov asks about the free press and the Press Law.

At 1616 GMT, Lukyanov says that no emotional elements must be brought into the Supreme Soviet debate. Some deputies have already said that there are attempts to remove the law on the press from the agenda. As soon as all comments on the draft have come in, the draft will be put on the agenda. As for financial autonomy of the Baltic republics, this matter is included on the agenda in front of them. The session is planned to last only 5 days: The deputies have the right to prolong the session if they wish in order to include all these issues. If the Law on the Press and the issue of the Baltic republics is to be included on the agenda, the deputies must decide this later in the day.

At 1620 GMT, Nishanov calls for the business to start: The original agenda set in October provided for 1 month's work. Deputies have in front of them the draft law on the General Principles of Management of the Economy in the Baltic Republics. At this moment a deputy interrupts the report by trying to submit a petition to the chairman. Abalkin takes the floor, and resumes the history of the draft law, which was not passed at its first reading. A new variant of the law has been drawn up and has been submitted for deputies' consideration. Abalkin stresses the need for compromise and a rational approach. He will dwell on certain aspects only. In accordance with numerous requests, certain points on the legal aspects of the law have been included in the new variant. There must be regional self-financing and financial autonomy in order to develop the economy of the Union as a whole. The law lays stress on demarcating the competence of the republics and the union. The republics themselves must determine certain aspects of this. The concept of ownership is crucial, and regional demarcation has a great bearing on this, namely demarcation of ownership according to Union, republic, region and enterprise. The decision reached by the commission was to lay down general principles of demarcating ownership. Industries are interpreted as all-union social distribution of labor, regardless of whether they come under a ministry or not.

1635 GMT

LD2011175789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1635 GMT, ON 20 November continues its recorded relay of the 20 November Supreme Soviet morning session proceedings in the Kremlin.

At 1635 gmt, Abalkin states that with regard to taxation, the draft law, Article 6, enumerates the taxable revenues of the republics. The financial basis of local soviets must

be expanded. The concept of the state budget of the union republics includes the republican budget plus the local soviet budget. Article 6 stresses the demarcation of union republic and local soviet budgets and taxation. Abalkin outlines further clauses in the original draft which gave rise to dispute.

At 1640 gmt, he recalls that republican powers regarding use of money resources and the credit system gave rise to dispute in the original draft. The present draft provides for unified systems of regulating money and credit questions: It is impossible to stabilize currency circulation in the country without a unified financial system. Abalkin enumerates provisions in the draft law regulating the republican powers with regard to redistribution of surplus capacity in the State Order, or in the construction industry. A separate section on ecological issues and the republican powers thereon is included.

At 1644 GMT, Abalkin enumerates the articles relating to the powers of the republic with regard to the Union, and mutual responsibility for fulfilment of competence. Article 11 relates to the republican right to set the State Order: There must be some regulations of the State Order wherever the USSR's foreign trade obligations are concerned, and wherever the State Plan and capital investment is concerned. Foreign currency deducations are also involved.

At 1649 GMT, summing up, Abalkin says the USSR has, as yet, no experience in republican financial autonomy, and the first steps are to be taken in extremely difficult economic circumstances, and in conditions of an extremely tense social situation in the country. The law must be adopted and put into effect for a specific, limited period; later legislative adjustment may be required. But some legislative decision must nevertheless be made, since legislation is required in order to implement the reform.

At 1651 GMT, he points out that the transition to financial autonomy by some republics gives rise to criticism on the part of the other republics which are continuing to work on the old system. The two methods of economic management must be coordinated to ensure the country's economy is not seriously destabalized. The process of drawing up the draft gave rise to many criticisms that the republics' powers were reduced compared to those of the center, or that the local soviets' rights were reduced compared to those of the republics etc. An attempt has been made to compromise.

At 1655 GMT, Abalkin begs that People's Deputies represent the USSR as a whole when looking at the bill, rather than representing one narrow area. He asks for the draft law to be passed.

At 1657 GMT, the morning session declares a break.

1712 GMT

LD2011182589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1712 GMT, on 20 November continues its recorded relay of the 20 November Supreme Soviet morning session proceedings in the Kremlin.

At 1712 GMT, the morning session resumes. Nishanov opens after the break. An unidentified deputy speaks of the work of his committee. One article has a clause that he regards as needing fundamental examination, because it contradicts the law on ownership. He names two documents which need to be looked at carefully during discussion.

At 1717 GMT, Nishanov introduces Vilkas, who protests about how the session is being conducted. He requests that the Supreme Soviet discusses the economic independence of the Baltic, even if the chairman protests this. Nishanov protests. Vilkas says that he was not allowed to say this earlier. Now he returns to the law under discussion. He says that all the major laws, on ownership, taxation, etc, have in common the fact that they concern the competence of the USSR and of the Union Republics, and thus, because we have not dealt with this matter properly we keep coming up against it. He says that the principle of a strong center and republics that are held responsible for everything is no good.

At 1723 GMT, Vilkas recalls Abalkin's remark that this law is for a transition period. Would it not then be a good idea to have a plan to know where we are going. We can judge how the center and republics should be related can be seen from the example of, say, the EEC. He says that a group of deputies has prepared an alternative draft law. He supports it.

At 1727 GMT, Nishanov introduces Pivovarov. The latter says that his committee regards it as a good idea to examine all the major laws on taxation, enterprises, ownership, etc., in one package. There is no mechanism for discussing all these matters. They are discussing the independence of the republics so that local social development can get underway.

At 1729 GMT, Magomedov expresses his support for the draft under discussion. His committee on trade and services, etc. has made certain proposals. The committee believes the rights and powers of autonomous republics need to be established. At the moment these are not being taken account of. He recalls for financing programs in autonomous republics, like Dagestan, in order to improve living standard and general situation.

At 1636 GMT, Deputy Ostroukhov takes issue with a clause in the draft which in his view will impede real economic independence for union and autonomous republics. He calls for union and autonomous republics to be regarded equally in the draft, with respect to economic independence. He thinks Article 5 should be dropped. He calls for a clear demarcation to be made between competence of USSR and Union Republics.

At 1740 GMT, Deputy Kapto regards the draft as generally positive, but many clauses need significant further work. He touches particularly on the matter of foreign economic activity.

At 1743 GMT, Deputy Bobritskiy says that this draft should defend someone's interests. He says it continues to defend the interests of the leadership of union republics and departmental interests. He speaks about the development of financial autonomy of enterprises in Belorussia.

At 1747 GMT, Vagris says they have very little time because they spend so much time on the wrong kind of discussion. He says that although the draft says it has taken consideration of the CPSU nationalitie's policy, he believes it has rather been distorted. This whole matter needs more work.

At 1750 GMT, Lisitskiy says that the last 4 months since the adoption of the law on financial autonomy in republics have seen significant changes, including much discussion of law on ownership. This law is fundamental to economic reform. Over the last 4 months they have also seen the hopelessness of the present economic mechanism. It must be dismantled and a new one established as soon as possible. He criticizes unconstructive criticisms against the law on taxation. People in the republics are taking on a great burden of responsibility for economy. He says the present draft is better than the previous but does not support it. The Union Republics will develop at different rates and in different ways and perestroyka should allow this. The Union Republics should not be pushed into economic independence if they do not feel they can deal with it. He supports Bobritskiy in his call for further work on law and examination of alternative drafts that may arise.

1800 GMT

LD2011194289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT, on 20 November continues its recorded relay of the 20 November Supreme Soviet morning session in the Kremlin.

At 1800 GMT, Deputy Yusupov takes the floor, recalling and recommending a leading article in IZVESTIYA which he has just read. He agrees with much of what Abalkin said, emphasizing the need to clearly define republics' rights especially regarding the economy, industrial sectors. These rights need to be expanded, for example as regards the cotton sector in his region. Cotton has been under the jurisdiction of the center, the land has been ruined. He talks about sections in the draft law which do not sufficiently clearly outline rights concerning taxes, prices. Additional work on the draft is needed.

At 1808 GMT, Deputy Plotknieks takes the floor. He worries about the role of this parliament in creating legislation. Who is higher—the parliament or the government? He refers to Article 3 in the draft law—how to resolve the economic crisis—on enterprises etc being under the jurisdiction of republics, noting that in effect the republics get light and food industries only. He continues to criticize clauses in Article 3. On taxes and budgets, he says that in reality the republics won't be able to do anything. He suggests working out a different final draft law.

At 1815 GMT, a break of 20 minutes is announced. The account of the day session continues:

At 1816 GMT, Nishanov gives the floor to Lukyanov for some explanations about what has been said so far today. A draft submitted by the Baltic republics has been received, he says, and will now be given to people to read. It will be circulated today—it is very different from the draft under discussion, reducing the Union role.

At 1819 GMT, Nishanov asks people not to talk for such long periods of time, to be more aware of how much time they are taking—to be more fair to others.

At 1820 GMT, Deputy Sulakshin takes the floor. He says the main concept in the draft law under discussion is unacceptable. If we are talking about socialist federalism—which is another name for Stalinist federalism, he says—then it is not acceptable. He does not understand why all republics should be approaching economic matters in a uniform way—referring to Abalkin talking about a common general start—since republics are mature, developed. He says the draft law should not be approved at the first reading. Another variant should be worked out with Vilkas participating in the work.

At 1827 GMT, Deputy Alksnis takes the floor saying that there should be a definition of federation and confederation. He fears that present talk about a Leninist federation is a mask for the destruction of the federation. The draft law has shortcomings, he says, but general principles need to be laid down and then programs for republics can be worked out. We should return to Leninist principles—land to the peasants, factories to the workers. He asks for the draft law to be accepted on the first reading.

At 1832 GMT, Deputy (?Mukhamedzhanov) takes the floor: talking about Article 6, on the issue of republics and a financial and budget base, which he suggests needs further thought and work.

At 1835 GMT, Deputy Minullin takes the floor, talking about autonomous republics. The demands of voters need to be taken into account more. There must be a fundamental rethink about the wording in the draft law on autonomous formations.

At 1839 GMT, Deputy Arshba takes the floor saying that the matter of the sovereignty of republics needs to be solved for this draft law to work. He focuses on wording in clauses of articles, for example, how a republic can spend its money, with which he does not agree, or with

which he is not happy. He says republics have started working out programs concerning the transfer to financial autonomy—perhaps they should wait and see what they look like and take them into account.

1845 GMT

LD2011194889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1845 GMT, on 20 November continues its recorded relay of the 20 November Supreme Soviet morning session proceedings in the Kremlin.

At 1845 GMT, Deputy Advadze takes the floor, talking about commission work in considering the draft law. He says they are talking about economic self-dependence not independence. He recalls work by legislators in Georgia, saying that they must consider the concepts of federation and confederation: We must create a USSR in which all republics are happy, satisfied.

At 1850 GMT, Deputy Arutyanyan takes the floor, looking at the contents of various articles, for example Article 8, on financing the expenditure of Union Republics. She pegs this to problems in Cental Asia such as infant mortality, living standards. Republics in that region would always be lagging behind if this legislation is passed through. She expounds on the unfairness of the taxes which would arise in different regions. She sees democratic centralism in the draft law, but would prefer not to see it. A single clear understanding of the world federation needs to be agreed upon. On the rights of autonomous formations, for example, oblasts, she quotes relevant articles in the draft law which in her view are inadequate. She asks for a draft bill with greater democracy. The bill should be scrutinized by experts.

At 1858 GMT, Deputy Tikhonov is basically in favor of adopting the law, but castigates the peoples' deputies for nit-picking: Nothing will ever be achieved unless we get down to implementing laws. We must not forget that we are one state, and must stop adopting tactics which lead to fragmentation.

At 1902 GMT, Deputy Saunin addresses the problem of creating new conditions for the economic mechanism envisaged in the bill. Before we discuss the details of the bill, we must look at the basics, namely how the economic mechanism will operate, and he therefore advises against adopting the bill as it stands.

At 1907 GMT, Deputy Miroshin summarizes the proceedings leading up to presentation of the bill for debate in the Supreme Soviet, including commission discussion. The latter advised against submitting the bill for debate in the Supreme Soviet: The commissions' advice was ignored. The variant proposed by the vilkas commission would be more suited to debate. Miroshin says that Articles 3,6,8 of the draft under discussion contavene articles of the constitution and the variant as it stands should be rejected.

At 1913 GMT, Deputy Gadzhiyev says the draft fails to answer questions relating to enterprise autonomy and continues the old system of centre control. The Baltic republics are said to be sufficiently highly economically developed to implement the new economic mechanism, but where does that leave the RSFSR? The center has never defended the interests of the RSFSR, only of the center. [Applause] He cites Lenin on aspects of military and diplomatic independence of republics. We must not adopt the Stalinism order of priorities, namely USSR, the republics, the autonomous republics, the oblasts and so on down in importance. Gadzhiyev believes there are issues upon which he does not have the right to vote, in so far as he would be betraying the interests of his electorate. The procedural wrangling currently under way in the Supreme Soviet will make the electorate lose confidence in the parliament's competence.

At 1922 GMT, Deputy Oleynik raises a number of contradictions in the draft law, which apportion responsibility for environmental protection to various different agents. The rights apportioned to the union center should be coordinated with the republics.

1924 GMT

LD2011212989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1924 GMT, on 20 November continues its recorded relay of the 20 November Supreme Soviet morning session proceedings in the Kremlin.

At 1924 GMT, Deputy Osipov says that only one point raised by the committee for ecological issues was taken into account and appears in the draft: He cites figures for the loss of agricultural land since the 1950s due to construction and development. Yakutiya and the Uakut people are under severe pressure due to economic and cultural factors, the national language is disappearing fast. What is the republic doing to counter such negative processes? The limited budgets of the republics cannot allocate sufficient funds for such areas, and all small nations are in the same boat, since in the case of the Yakuts, for instance, the profits from Neryungri are milked to the center. What is needed is regional self-management.

At 1932 GMT, Deputy Konev points out that the lion's share of the Ukraine's wealth would go to the center: It is but a hostage of all-union monopolies. The draft in question cannot be adopted until republican parliaments have come to a conclusion on republican autonomy.

At 1935 GMT, Nishanov announces more deputies who have asked to speak. The general picture, however, is emerging clearly: Back to Abalkin for answers to questions. Abalkin explains how the work on redrafting the law was tackled. The current draft is essentially a compromise. Regarding the claims of the Union in respect of ownership, Abalkin quotes from the draft law published in PRAVDA yesterday, which of course is the variant presented for debate today. The Union republics have at

their disposal 70 percent of the economic potential. The republic has jurisdiction over everything that is not under the jurisdiction of the Union.

At 1944 GMT, Abalkin rambles somewhat answering questions about taxation and levying of taxes in the republics, without telling the audience what the question was. Further, the question of the national okrugs and oblasts must come within the sphere of competence of the RSFSR. Regarding the profits of all-union enterprises, the enterprises themselves have certain rights which differ from enterprise to enterprise.

At 1948 GMT, Nishanov says there is a proposal to approve the draft at first reading: To put it to the vote.

At 1950 GMT, Volozhin, from the floor, objects to the proposal; another deputy from the floor, followed by Gryazin, object to elements of Abalkin's explanations.

At 1951 GMT, vote for proposal accepting it on first reading, but not adopting contents: Registration indicates 399 deputies are present.

At 1952 GMT, Boldyrev makes a comment from the floor.

At 1953 GMT, the deputies vote; the result is: 148 for, 211 against; 35 abstentions; [394 deputies voted].

At 1954 GMT, Nishanov proposes taking cognizance of Abalkin's report, and postponing the debate to the next session to take account of commission and committee debates.

At 1955 GMT, a deputy from the floor suggests a Council of Ministers' submission, without commissions.

At 1956 GMT, Gadzhiyev from the floor proposes an amendment, followed by further suggestions from the floor from Saunin and others, suggesting that the Council of Ministers should submit another variant. Kirillov suggests returning to basic principles and starting again. Nishanov tries to restore some order into the plethora of amendments and proposals from the floor, explaining that the majority of deputies have not seen the alternative variants mentioned from various quarters.

At 2000 GMT, Nishanov proposes to take cognizance of Abalkin's report and to continue work on the draft, postponing the debate until next session.

At 2001 GMT, a deputy says much time is being lost in emotional talking in circles.

At 2002 GMT, deputies vote on Nishanov's proposal; the result is: 296 for; 30 against; 50 abstained [376 voted]

At 2003 GMT, Nishanov confirms there is a quorum for voting; and complains about Vikas' impolite comments against the chair. The morning session then adjourns.

2005 GMT

LD2011214489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2005 GMT, on 20 November continues its recorded relay of the 20 November Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin.

At 2005 GMT, Nishanov announces the continuation of the session in the afternoon, and congratulates agricultural workers on their day, as well as missile troups on their day.

At 2006 GMT, Sobchak proposes that discussion of measures on changes with regard to state enterprises should be examined in the committees and commissions and in time the economic independence in the Baltic republics.

At 2007 GMT, Deputy Valov states that he does not agree with Sobchak and says that disussion of the changes should continue.

At 2008 GMT, Deputy Atadzhanov makes a comment from the floor.

At 2009 GMT, Kolbin says that everyone in the country is awaiting the stabilization of prices and that this must be discussed here and now.

At 2010 GMT, Deputy Gadzhiyev says that there should be a vote as to the agenda, and suggests how the debates should be conducted.

At 2014 GMT, Lukyanov discusses procedural matters and says that the issue of price stabilization is on the agenda at the wish of the Supreme Soviet. If it is to be taken off then they have to reveiw their own decision. He asks that Abalkin be heard as he has to go abroad tonight.

At 2016 GMT, Nishanov asks what is to be done.

At 2017 GMT, Deputy Sazonov complains that the issue should not be put off.

At 2018 GMT, Deputy Gryazin says that economic issues must be discussed properly because they are vitally important and should not be hurried over.

At 2020 GMT, Deputy (?Babchenko) supports voting on which issue should be dealt with:

The state price control issue is voted on; the result is: those in favor 305; 74 against; 37 abstained. [416 registered]

At 2024 GMT, Abalkin talks about additional measures to control prices and the consumer market. Measures taken upto the end of 1990, and the plan and budget for 1990 are mentioned. They have not managed to stabilize the consumer market, money incomes are growing too fast. Specific measures must be drawn up. A program of action has been worked out by the Supreme Soviet to stop the negative processes in the social sphere, to stop the living standard of Soviet people from falling, and to

care for the lower paid. These are minimum measures proposed to stabilize the situation. Measures for 1990 have already been determined. These measures are within the Supreme Soviet's competence and cannot be passed by the government without the Supreme Soviet's agreement.

At 2028 GMT, Abalkin talks about the harsh measures that are within the competence of the Supreme Soviet and says that they will not be popular. He says that the right of the people to a stable life is the greatest right. Two clauses in the law on state enterprises regarding contract prices on the main foodstuffs will have to be changed. Certain socially important goods, for example for children, will come within price controls. He further outlines changes to the law permitting the export of certain goods. In 9 months of this year 700,000 tonnes of fish and fish products have been undelivered. Exports, however, were 437,000 tonnes. Export plans are being overfulfilled while there are shortages on the home market. He says the consumer market is determined by three factors: Supply, demand, prices. The new measures will deal with all three. Abalkin gives details of these measures. The first group of measures is to ensure more goods on the market, the second to regulate monetary incomes. Distribution of profits, especially above-plan profits will be subjected to more stringent regulations. The third package of measures is to control prices and price rises. He lists the foodstuffs and manufactured goods that will be affected. He says it would be unreasonable to deprive agricultural production of contractual prices. Prices on some foodstuffs will be subject to seasonal changes. Measures will also be taken to restrain contract prices on nonfoodstuffs. From 1 January 1990, goods with contract prices should not rise by more than 30 percent. A system of price control will be created. These measures have been examined by the People's Control Committee and the Trade Union Council.

At 2044 GMT, Gritsenko states that the draft law has been examined and recounts the results of discussion of it. He lists the stages of this examination and those bodies involved in it. He states that they have not been able to stabilize the consumer market and restrain retail prices. He gives figures for the growth of goods production, quoting the State Price Committee. He talks about the varying quality of goods and measures to deal with this, as well as excessive prices on foodstuffs. The prices of cultural activities have risen over the last few years. A price control policy has not yet been agreed upon. Urgent measures must be taken to protect the consumer, measures to do away with shortages, and to aid the needy. He further lists the various stages such as the Supreme Soviet Presidium, that the draft decision has been through since 1 November. He makes special mention of the fishing industry as its goods are so perishable. He further lists goods such as children's goods that are to be subject to government subsidies.

2100 GMT

LD2011224389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2100 GMT, on 20 November continues its recorded relay of the 20 November Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin.

At 2100 GMT, Shalayev takes the floor, stressing the importance of saturating the market with consumer goods which are in particularly short supply, for example toothpaste; the importance of better organizing import/export matters. He gives data on sales abroad of foodstuffs and raw materials which are in short supply at home. Licensing needs to be introduced to sort out such anomalies. He talks about freezing retail prices on some kinds of goods, for example, clothing for children. He thinks some clauses ought to be removed because they are restricting but the next Congress of People's Deputies will look into this.

At 2105 GMT, Deputy Komarov takes the floor, also talking about prices. He wants a clause to be expanded on prices and contractual agreements, to give agriculture enterprises equal rights. He talks about various increases agreed on for next year, for example electricity tariffs, in an approving vein.

At 2110 GMT, Deputy Lisitskiy takes the floor: The government must be supported in its plans to improve the financial climate in the country. He condemns conservatives who react negatively to such plans.

At 2112 GMT, Deputy Lobov takes the floor: He takes issue with a clause on the Law on State Enterprise and Contractual Agreements' Prices, and would like to see it removed. Light industry and agricultural industry sectors will suffer from the present proposals on prices—all sectors should be the same where prices are concerned.

At 2116 GMT, Deputy Zhuravlev takes the floor talking on the subject of urgent measures to improve the country's economy. He suggests that they have a discussion on the subject of price formation. Temporary measures, for example decrees, can resolve problems only in the short term. On the subject of foreign credit he feels that the Union should keep only 20 percent for use while the rest should move to the relevant sectors.

At 2124 GMT, Deputy Valov takes the floor. Questions of property, land, have to be settled individually, and should not be hurried. He predicts catastrophe in the country—unemployment etc—if there is a rush to create a socialist market overnight. Greater clarity from the government on such an issue is required. The question of social justice needs to be discussed. The elite of Soviet society uses goods in short supply. The government should resign over such. He gives examples of injustice regarding agricultural and nonagricultural workers.

At 2130 GMT, Deputy Gutskalov takes the floor, talking about raising the quality of output and labor productivity. He talks about problems in the Far East shipping

fleet, urging the dire need for restructuring in that fisheries sector. He asks for less talk and more effective work.

At 2134 GMT, Deputy Gabrusev takes the floor: Everything that the government has been doing has only made matters worse in the country. The measures that the government is taking are important. Social injustice is the prime source of social unrest in the country today: The rich are getting richer, the poor get poorer. The introduction of a rationing system, of which there is now talk, is a shame for the country. Laws on property, land, etc., are essential today. A market has to be created. A large-scale battle has to be launched against speculation at state level. Confiscation of property should be the penalty for such on the part of, for example, people in a position of leadership. The campaign in the media against speculation is directed at lowering the prestige of the State Committee on Security. The Committee of People's Control should get involved in this battle. People should be ready to state their source of income. Monetary reform is essential—he suggests a referendum on this.

2145 GMT

LD2011225889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2145 GMT, on 20 November continues its recorded relay of the 20 November Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin.

Nishanov suggests they move on to voting: 362 for; 14 against; 14 abstentions.

At 2145 GMT, an unidentified deputy addresses Abalkin on the subject of people's incomes' rising, unjustified incomes.

At 2146 GMT, Deputy (?Kim) raises the matter of washing powder, and the fact that the problem over it has not been resolved.

At 2147 GMT, an unidentified deputy raises the issue of retail prices, and limitations on retail prices.

At 2148 GMT, Deputy Sakharov takes the floor to speak on the subject of ration cards. He asks what kind of economy has to exist on ration cards.

At 2149 GMT, Deputy Kirillov talks briefly on the subject of the quality of goods.

At 2150 GMT, Deputy Boyko raises two matters: the command administrative system and prices.

At 2151 GMT, Deputy Abalkin takes the floor to answer the above six speakers. Recent events—wagons piling up on the railways—have exacerbated the situation in the country, and we reap what we sow. Good organization is required. He talks about enterprises, their profits, and unprofitable enterprises, and the country's budget.

At 2158 GMT, Abalkin continues to answer questions. On the question of the payment for the apparatus, he says this information can be obtained from relevant bodies. There is not a kopeck left in the Union budget over and above what has been adopted and agreed. All other expenses will have to be met by local budgets. He also responds to questions about the inferior status of rural areas. On the issues of ration cards he says the government regards it as too difficult to introduce a unified rationing system throughout the country.

At 2207 GMT, Abalkin warns that loss-making enterprises will no longer be able to count on subsidies. He again calls for the proposals on stabilizing market and prices be accepted.

At 2208 GMT, Abalkin responds to Komarov's question about contractual prices.

At 2210 GMT, Nishanov suggests that the decision be adopted, taking into consideration the proposals of the commissions and committees. The voting results are: 317 for; 35 against; 39 abstentions. The decision is adopted.

At 2212 GMT, various suggestions are made from the floor. A woman deputy says potatoes have not been included in main foodstuffs.

At 2215 GMT, the deputies vote on the amendment. It is passed. Abalkin reassures deputies that the decision deals with the most important items.

At 2216 GMT, Plotnieks makes a proposal about procedure.

At 2218 GMT, Nishanov calls on Eoteyev from the Committee on Glasnost, who has asked to speak. The Committee has been approached by many editorial groups trying to defend their editors. The rights of publishers and editors need to be defended. The committee calls for the draft law on the press to be examined in the first reading by Supreme Soviet. He calls for the proceedings of the recent meeting with the press to be made public, in order to eliminate rumors. The law on the press must be adopted.

At 2222 GMT, Nishanov says several deputies have inquiries but there is very litte time, as deputies have other commitments.

At 2223 GMT, Makhkamov announces a meeting of the Commission on Issues of Development of Industry.

At 2224 GMT, the Supreme Soviet session ends for the day.

The recorded relay ends.

Abalkin's Supreme Soviet Speech 20 Nov

LD2111001189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2024 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Speech by Deputy Leonid Abalkin, from the recorded relay of the 20 November afternoon session of the Supreme Soviet held in the Kremlin]

[Text] Comrades People's Deputies: In accordance with the instructions from the USSR Supreme Soviet, which were adopted on the initiative of the Commission on Issues of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy, the USSR People's Control Committee, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU], the government submitted, in the established period—by 1 November this year —a Draft Resolution on Additional Measures to Stabilize the Consumer Market and Intensify State Control over Prices. The draft of the comments by the commissions and committees which you have had a preliminary look at is in your hands, and clearly does not need to be described again.

Permit me to provide explanations for several of the measures included in this document. The first thing I would like to stress is that these are additional measures designed for the period until the end of 1990. The necessity and legitimacy of adopting them at this session of the Supreme Soviet is connected with the fact that quite recently we considered and adopted the Plan of Economic and Social Development and confirmed the Budget for 1990. It is for this period—until the end of this year and for 1990—that the planned measures are designed. To a large extent they are connected with the implementation of rigorous—largely extraordinary—measures to improve the situation in the consumer market. It must be noted that for the moment it has not been possible to stabilize the situation in the consumer market. Over 10 months of this year the growth in monetary income has exceeded all reasonable limits. The deficit is becoming more acute, and prices are continuing to grow. There has arisen an acute need to remove social tension in society and to prepare specific measures on this issue.

As you know, the draft submitted for your examination is extremely brief. It comprises only four points, and fits onto five typewritten pages. These are not slogans or appeals; it is a program of action developed and submitted to the Supreme Soviet by the government. The profound meaning of these proposals consists in halting the negative processes in the social sphere; preventing a fall in the living standards of the Soviet people; and above all protecting the badly-off strata of the population.

We must take a clear and firm stance—which is that our people must not, and cannot, live worse tomorrow than it did yesterday. That is the minimum of social conditions which will make it possible to stabilize the social situation in the country. As far as measures for the future are concerned—what we are going to adopt in 1990 and further in the future—it is these measures that will be the subject for discussion at the Congress of People's Deputies. We have already determined the measures for the coming months and for 1990, apart from the additional measures.

The second point: The draft includes measures which fall within three competences. There are, first, measures which belong within the competence of the Supreme Soviet and cannot be adopted or implemented by the government without the sanction and agreement of People's Deputies. There are measures which, in accordance with today's distribution of functions, have been apportioned to the competence of union republics and local bodies. With regard to these, we can make recommendations or advise that their actions be given an orientation which fits into a general system of measures to improve the situation in the consumer market.

Finally, there is a third group of measures which the government has the right to resolve, is resolving, and will resolve independently. They form a fairly large collection of means, methods, and solutions which are set out in Point 4 of the resolution that has been submitted for your attention.

It should be stressed that—I would like first to touch on the measures which are within the competence of the Supreme Soviet and comment on them, since this is of fundamental importance. These measures are indeed of a harsh nature. They are connected with the introduction of a number of restrictions, including a halt to the operation of a number of articles in the Law on the Socialist State Enterprise for this period, until the end of 1990. Both the unpopularity and the harshness of these measures can be understood, but it must be understood that they encroach on and limit certain rights of enterprises, yet we must have a clear idea that in our society, which strives to be as democratic as possible, there is no right greater than the people's right—the people's right to a stable life and a guaranteed existence. And we should be guided by this, above all, in all responsibility with regard to the people and to our electorate.

What, specifically, are we talking about? We are specifically talking about the need to halt the functioning of two articles: Of the Law on Enterprises, in particular, Point 10 of Article 17; and of the Law on State Enterprises, the part about establishing contractual prices. We propose that the functioning of this law be halted with regard to the part on the application of contractual prices on the main foodstuffs. In other words, not to allow the possibility of using contractual prices on the main items in the foodstuffs group, and not to play with these matters. And next, also not to allow the use of contractual prices with regard to the group of socially-significant nonfoodstuffs, above all for children and for the elderly. Here too, we cannot allow the profits of enterprises, and financial autonomous revenue and material incentive to increase at the expense of raising the price of products manufactured specially, for children and for the elderly. It is proposed that the government be entrusted with

ratifying, in conjunction with the AUCCTU, the list of these goods, within 10 days.

The second thing we are talking about. We are talking about halting for the same period the functioning of an article on the Law on Enterprises, in particular, the implementation and conclusion of agreements on contracts for the export of consumer goods and the raw materials for their manufacture over and above the quotas established by the plan. It is seen as expedient to introduce licensing of the export of consumer goods, and the main kinds of raw materials for their manufacture, carried out by all participants in foreign economic contracts, without exception. It is also proposed that the government should establish the composition of these goods.

Allow me to explain what has been the cause of these measures, taking the situation that has formed in the consumer market this year. Besides the well known example of fish that was cited, which I remind you of, it consists of the fact that in the 9 months of this year there has been a failure to deliver 700,000 tonnes of fish and fish products. In a rough calculation that is approximately 3 kilograms per head of the population. While at the same time the excess in export deliveries with respect to certain licenses that were issued initially with the possibilities for export, were more than 437,000 tonnes. That applies, and I repeat, not only to fish. In 9 months of 1989, 3,000 televisions failed to be delivered to the home market. But the plan for export was overfulfilled by 8,000 televisions. For vacuum cleaners and refigerators, 52,000 and 19,000 items respectively failed to be supplied to the home market, while the export plan was fulfilled. It is not a question of a ban. It is a question of imposing strict state control by means of licenses and quotas, determining the maximum level of exports, in order to guarantee the respective goods for the internal market.

The third thing that I would like to dwell on: Measures envisaged in the draft decision are of a comprehensive nature and embrace all the three most important controls on the market as a whole and in the given case of the consumer market. The thing is that the level of satisfaction of the market and in general of its state, is determined by the impact of three factors. The supply of goods and services, that is, the volume of the actual goods mass which comes onto the market; second the demand, or monetary incomes which determine the correlation to supply; and finally, the third element, that is, prices. Many of the proposals made envisage measures embracing all three elements of this system, first of all, for expanding the supply of goods. Here measures have been outlined, have been proposed, it is said, have already been taken by the government in several directions. First and foremost, measures are envisaged connected with expanding the composition of the state order, the output of goods for children and older people, including goods at socially low prices, the fabrics, accessories and other materials needed for that. It is also envisaged that the order regarding their marketing should be extended, which guarantees that they are sold to the respective groups of the population. These are measures that can be adopted by the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Councils of Ministers of the union republics in order, with the aid of the existing measures and those that the part of the system of plan control of state orders in operation, to determine this sphere. It is also borne in mind to adopt measures in order, during the fourth quarter or the remaining period of the fourth quarter of this year and throughout 1990, to implement the necessary measures to relieve the pressure in providing the population with such goods as are in sufficiently short supply at the present time, such as detergents, tooth paste, school uniforms, exercise books, women's tights, zip fasteners, batteries, razor blades, electrical irons, needles for sewing machines, tobacco goods, household and toilet soap, and the improvement of supplies to the population of masses of medicinal preparations.

It is a question of allocating over and above the established norms, part of the output for home consumption, the sale of them to the population, to the enterprises producing consumer goods, as well as to cooperatives producing consumer goods, on account of allocating resources from state funds, the reducing of material stocks and thereby providing for additional satisfaction of the market.

Measures have also been provided for, connected with the USSR Ministry of Defense additionally handing over, through the system of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab], the material, equipment and economic stock to be marketed to the population and cooperatives through the retail trade sector. Relevant instructions by the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics are also provided for—this is set out in the document—to regulate exports and this is something I have already mentioned. The purpose is to increase the commodity supply to saturate the market.

The second group of measures is connected with regulating the money incomes of the population and of the revenue of enterprises as a whole. This is because it is only by curbing this inordinate growth in money incomes that we shall succeed in ensuring that there is stabilization in the market. One has in mind a number of measures. They are always of a comprehensive nature. These include the measures to hold in check the increase in prices. These, by restricting the enterprises' revenue to within the revenue in keeping with financial autonomy, can also influence the size of money incomes of the population; can restrict the proportion that has not been earned through a real increase in the volume of the marketed goods or through improving their quality. The point is to alter the procedure whereby the profit is distributed, including the repeal, as of 1990, of the special procedure for distributing overplan profits introduced by the December 1987 government decision. The point is also to exercise stricter control over bonuses and to review the existing procedure so as to tie them up more with a real increase in the final results. We are

talking of the sum total of meausres aimed at improving the financial health of the national economy. This includes the mutual relations between the enterprises and the budget and the tackling of the issue concerning the prospects for, and the destiny of lossmaking enterprises.

What is perhaps of the most fundamental significance—and it is something that is expected of us—is the measures connected with solving the issue of holding back the growth of prices, measures connected with limiting their growth, banning price increases—the state retail prices—and with stepping up the control of them.

The draft envisages that the government will now define a list of consumer goods, the state retail prices for which will be retained intact. That is to say we are here talking of banning outright price increases on the most important consumer goods, among which are: Meat and its byproducts, the main types of fish produce and of tinned fish, animal oils, edible animal fats, vegetable oil, margarine and margarine produce, milk and dairy produce, herring, cheese, eggs, sugar, natural tea, salt, flour, bread and bakery produce, groats and legumes, macaroni products, children's and dietetic foods, clothing and footwear for children and older children at specially low prices and school and writing artifacts.

A special issue relates to the contractual prices used, in accordance with the decisions which have been adopted, for potatoes and fruit and vegetable products. As you know, in the interests of stimulating production in agriculture, expanding the output volumes of these products, and expanding the consumer market, we have taken the step of applying contractual prices for these product types from 1990. To deprive agricultural production of this stimulus would be irrational, inexpedient, and shortsighted. At the same time, there arises a need to protect the population, especially its badly-off strata, from a possible and quite probable rise in the prices of these products, and a considerabe rise at that. In this context, the draft recommends that the Supreme Soviets of the Republics, and the local authorities, examine the issue of setting maximum retail prices, differentiated by season, on the most important types of fruit and vegetable products and potatoes, and that they intensify control over the correct application of these, using subsidies from the local budget wherever necessary to make up the difference between these prices and the contractual purchase prices. This practice is curently being widely discussed at a local level, and various possibilities are being sought for compensating for this difference while simultaneously attempting to accomplish two tasks: To create the necessary stimuli for production and to protect the population from the possible and probable rise in prices in this sphere. The same measures have been undertaken with regard t restraining contractual prices of nonfoodstuff goods.

The essence of the issue consists in the following, however: The sale of D-index goods from light industry is now being conducted by many trade enterprises. The provision on the procedure for setting contractual prices does not limit the range of these products, the size of consignments, or the price level at present, while the requirements of quality and fashion are not clearly defined. As a result enterprises have broad opportunities to increase prices and to reduce production volumes in real terms.

In connection with this it is proposed that a procedure be established whereby, as of 1 January 1990, contractual prices for new nonfoodstuff goods, for which the possibility of applying such prices continues to exist—for which this possibility still exists, because there are goods for which it is proposed not to apply contractual prices; I have already stated that these are the basic foodstuffs and goods for children and for the elderly—for the remaining goods, where the possibility of applying them remains, the increase of a contractual price over the list price must not, as a rule, exceed 30 percent of the state retail price.

A whole system of measures, which is set out in the draft, to intensify state control over prices, including combined efforts by the state price-setting bodies, the creation of a ramified system of price control, and the involvement in this system of the public organizations, trade unions, people's control bodies, and so on.

When these measures were being developed by the government they were painstakingly discussed, above all with the People's Control Committee and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. We reached agreement on these issues and they were approved in principle at the committees and commissions which conducted the preliminary examination of the draft resolution.

I think that the adoption of this document, which is of great social importance, will, for all the harshness of the proposed measures, be of health-giving significance to our economy and and will show the ability of the Supreme Soviet and government to act energetically, guided by the supreme interests of the people.

Latvian Deputy Addresses Supreme Soviet 20 Nov

LD2111102189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Speech by Deputy Mavrik Germanovich Vulfson from the recorded relay of the 20 November morning session of the Supreme Soviet held in the Kremlin]

[Text] Respected comrade chairman, respected deputies, in spite of the appeal not to return to the problem of the economic independence of the Baltic republics, as it is, they say, going to be examined in the course of some kind of incomprehensible continuation of our discussion today and the discussion of the draft law that we have in hand, and not to become excited about the appeal, I would like to inform you that on 18 November a demonstration took place in Riga in which 500,000 people took part. These were the biggest demonstrations in the history of Latvia, in the entire history of Latvia.

And during this demonstration bewilderment was expressed at the fact that here the examination of the issue of a new federation is not progressing. For the moment everything remains just as it was. And within the framework of this demand and wish, the insistent request was expressed that the issue of economic independence of Latvia—and I think that this issue also applies to both the other Baltic republics—should be examined and not continually pushed to one side.

If my memory does not deceive me, it was envisaged that this issue should be examined at the beginning of October. Then it was postponed for the next term. And today we no longer feel sure that this issue, a vitally important one for us, will be examined here. I am appealing to you, comrade deputies, taking into account the situation in the Baltic republics, to support us so that this issue should be examined in a definite period and to determine today the term in which that draft law should be examined in the second reading. Thank you for your attention.

TASS Reviews 20 Nov Supreme Soviet Session

LD2011163389 Moscow TASS in English 1613 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Supreme Soviet (parliament) today rejected the proposal to approve in the first reading the bill on general principles of running the economy and the social sphere in union and autonomous republics.

In preliminary work on the document, the government and parliamentary bodies failed to achieve agreement on several provisions of the bill.

The standing committee for the work of local councils and the commission for the development of union and autonomous republics believe that the bill does not fully take into account interests of republics and autonomous entities.

The course of debate showed that this viewpoint is shared by many deputies. As a result the parliament decided to assign its standing bodies to continue the work on the bill together with the government and submit it for consideration to the autumn session in 1990.

The parliament adopted a resolution on additional measures to stabilise the consumer market and enhance state control over prices.

The decision aims to relieve the population's concern over skyrocketing prices and stop the lowering of living standards.

The bill envisages a number of tough non-economic measures, including a ban on the increase of prices of several foodstuffs, clothes and shoes for the poorer sections of the population and restrictions on the export of commodities that are in short supply on the domestic market.

Some deputies suggested introducing rationing of basic necessities. Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin opposed this measure, saying it would only encourage black marketeering. This view is shared by the country's leading economists, he said.

Lukyanov Chairs 21 Nov Supreme Soviet Session

LD2111080189 Moscow TASS in English 0740 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet Parliament met again today for a joint session of both chambers, with Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice-president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the chair.

The session will discuss draft regulations for the Congress of Soviet People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, laws on the status and the procedure of recalling Soviet people's deputies and proposals on the order of renewing parliament.

The candidature of 48 year-old actor and director Nikolay Gubenko for the post of Soviet minister of culture will be discussed in the afternoon.

Deputies Comment on Draft Ownership Law

PM2011141389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[S. Karkhanin report under the rubric "Kremlin Debates": "Law-Makers Waiting for Advice"]

[Text] There were 190 in favor, 185 against, and 37 abstentions. These results of the vote on the amendment submitted by the nine people's deputies from autonomous republics themselves attest to the high emotional temperature of the argument on the draft Law on Ownership. Incidentally, the amendment failed to gain a majority of those present, and therefore it was decided not to include the amendment in the text of the draft, which will be published. It will appear in the press along with other additional materials.

The essence of the proposal lay in amending the document with the following formula: "Autonomous formations have the same ownership rights on their territory as union republics, with the rights of owners on their territory." Representatives of the deputies' committee on questions of legislation noted that the amendment would rupture the integrated fabric of the draft law and would confuse the issue of what belonged to whom. Those who do not agree with them recall the rights of numerically small groups of people to have their own property on their native land. There is undoubtedly logic in both sides' arguments. A nationwide discussion of the

document, which currently, as is well known, is "middle-of-the-road," will make it possible to determine whose arguments are preferable: It will take a long time yet to complete work on it.

That is just one fragment of the discussion that took place at a joint sitting of the chambers Tuesday. Emotions sometimes boiled over—but that was to be expected: The role of the future law on the country's economic and political life is great. And the draft materials, which have already been submitted to deputies' committees, contain considerably divergent opinions. A number of economists, lawyers, and political scientists, approving the document on the whole, are adding their own new formulas to it. Others are calling it "hasty" and objecting to the fragmentation of state ownership, suggesting that this could lead to the restoration of capitalism....

But it should be repeated that the main work on the draft still lies ahead. Although, undoubtedly, it already contains a number of fundamentally important innovations.

Extract from the draft law: "The land and other natural resources are the inalienable property of Soviet citizens and belong to the people who live in a given territory and to the Soviet people as a whole. As a result of the unification of the Soviet people in a federation, the lands belonging to them and other natural features form an integrated territory comprising the basis of Soviet sovereignty."

Here is the opinion of S.S. Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order:

"A very important article of long-term significance and with ramifications for many future draft laws, including the law on local self-management, states that all state property belongs to [zakreplyayetsya za] the soviets rather than to departments. Land is at the disposal of city and rayon soviets, and no other other organs. The land and natural resources are not the property of the state or any of its levels, but are recognized as the people's property. In other words, we are returning to the Leninist principle expressed in the Decree on Land.

"Land belongs to the people living in a given territory." I think this is a most important principle of constitutional significance. The rest of the text of the article guarantees appropriate rights for autonomous formations, although, admittedly, not everything has been worked out in this area yet. One other point. If on the basis of the Council of Ministers report we decide at the next congress to adopt the Declaration on Land as an individual document, the aforesaid principle could be one of its points. If the First Congress was a congress on power, the second should be a congress on land. Moreover, we have enshrined in the draft the idea that peasant farms and citizens for life and in succession—this precisely corresponds with the essence of land relations.

"Land cannot be confiscated, with the exception of cases directly stipulated by the law. The draft provides guarantees of the right of ownership up to and including the right of a plaintiff to directly sue the state. This is the level of protection for ownership relations which accords with the most advanced legislative systems."

Extract from the draft law: "Soviet citizens have the exclusive right to decide how to use their own abilities and their productive and creative labor. Citizens exercise this right independently or by voluntarily putting themselves forward for hire for labor... There are no restrictions on the composition and value of the property acquired by citizens out of their labor income and savings and on other grounds stipulated by the law."

Here is the opinion of USSR People's Deputy A.N. Boyko:

"We should not identify wage labor with labor under hiring contracts. Wage labor is a systematic relationship. It exists only 'in tandem' with capital and does not apply to socialism. Labor under a hiring contract is another matter: If we permit different forms of ownership, this means that people can get involved in any kind of economic formation under such a contract.

"The concept of 'citizens' property' is a widely generalized concept which has not been introduced to replace individual and personal ownership. We need to make this clear, in my view."

Extract from the draft law: "Intellectual ownership includes all the rights pertaining to intellectual activity in the production, scientific, literary, and artistic spheres."

Here is the opinion of USSR People's Deputy G.E. Burbulis:

"I do not agree that this law is an economic law: It is a fundamental and comprehensive law, and it raises the question of the system of authority in the country. I am convinced that the level of nationwide discussion and the competent and principled interpretation of the document by people is exceptionally important for our legislative work. And I propose setting up a special group, perhaps with the status of a commission of representatives of deputies' committees, which would be responsible for the organization, analysis, and monitoring of the progress and results of the nationwide discussion. We must give it the appropriate scientific backup and grant it special rights and powers. If such a commission were set up, our committee on questions of the work of the soviets would be interested in taking part in it."

...Thus, the draft law will appear in the press in the near future. Deputies' committees and sociologists from the country's Academy of Sciences are starting to collate proposals and amendments. Millions of people and the entire country is getting involved in the development of

legislation. The Supreme Soviet will give them—the main legislators—the last word.

Supreme Soviet Plenary Proceedings Viewed

PM2011145589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1, 4

[Own parliamentary correspondents V. Dolganov, A. Stepovoy report: "Time of Mature Decisions. Notes on the Plenary Sittings of the USSR Supreme Soviet Second Session"]

[Text] Time flies. We have not had time to blink, and suddenly all the time we have left is one [2-day] work week for the chambers' plenary sittings, and the remaining days of that week for committee and commission sessions (at least, according to the latest tentative timetable).

Right now it is possible to sum up some preliminary results. And so, what has been achieved, what was not possible, and what can still be done during the last few days that remain? Arithmetic is probably unacceptable when it is a matter of legislative activity by the parliament. Nonetheless... Some deputies are now recalling with pain the sessions at which drawn out debates were held on questions which were by no means of paramount importance.

Ultimately, however, it is only natural that every deputy is primarily committed to those problems and that range of questions which concern above all his voters or the social organization which gave him his mandate. And therefore the concern of cultural and arts figures and representatives of the health care sphere at the insufficient funding of these sectors is just as understandable as the ardent wish of Ye.A. Gayer to improve the life of small peoples as quickly as possible, or the agrarian experts' constant efforts to develop the social sphere in the countryside... Yes, our life is hard, there are more than enough problems everywhere. Unquestionably it is difficult to give a clear-cut answer to what should be tackled first and what can be postponed until later. This clearly accounts for the nervous tension which has marked the session's recent plenary sittings.

Nonetheless, quite a lot has been achieved. First and foremost thanks to the fact that during this session preparatory work took place inside committees and commissions, out of television viewers' sight, that every draft law was "polished" (and sometimes not just once) in several, and sometimes all, the standing bodies of our parliament. We have attended such discussions more than once and have seen for ourselves how in their process creative collectives of lawmakers are born in which mutual understanding strengthens from sitting to sitting and parliamentary skills are enhanced. It is also true that sometimes we felt just as pained as the authors of specific draft laws when their colleagues, failing to grasp straightaway the essence and the nuances of a document submitted at a plenary sitting, rejected out of hand ideas which had taken weeks and even months to elaborate.

Incidentally, even this was understandable. Not all the documents reached the parliamentarians in good time, and consequently not everyone was able to study them in depth, consider them, and submit suggestions which would not destroy the fabric of the act of law. It is true that after the proposal by People's Deputy S.B. Stankevich, parliamentary amendments during the past few weeks were less and less frequently announced from the rostrum and more and more often submitted to the appropriate standing bodies of the Supreme Soviet, precisely formulated in writing. This is probably a good development that should be kept up in the future.

The agenda of the coming work week includes quite a few important draft laws.

Will the people's deputies manage to consider all the documents? Let us put our trust in their promise expressed from the session rostrum that they will work every day as long as the situation requires. This was borne out during the past 3 days. Let's just recall how long the debate went on 13 November. Let's also recall that many committees and commissions met, no matter how tired the deputies were, as soon as the plenary sittings ended.

The evening of 15 November was no exception in this respect. As soon as A.I. Lukyanov, who was in the chair, had closed the joint sitting of the Supreme Soviet chambers, members of one of the working groups of the Commission for the Preparation and Holding of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies met in the Malyy Hall.

...However, the time has come, albeit briefly, to give an account of the last plenary sitting which was not reported in our previous reportage. Let us recall: During the first half of the day the chambers met separately. The Soviet of Nationalities examined the draft Law on languages of the USSR peoples, while the Soviet of the Union debated the draft law on amendments and additons to the USSR Law "On USSR Citizenship." At the joint evening sitting the draft law on the free national development of the citizens of the USSR living beyond the confines of their national-state formations or having no such formations on the territory of the USSR was added to these issues.

Reports on behalf of the appropriate committees and commissions which submitted these documents at the sessions were delivered by People's Deputies Ch. Aytmatov, K.D. Lubenchenko, and G.S. Tarazevich. It seemed that during the day all or virtually all details had been clarified, and many fundamental disagreements had been eliminated. However... the deputies' desire to clarify, explain, or add something before the legislative acts were passed for finalization after being approved on the first reading was obviously too great. The first reading presupposes only the conceptual agreement of

the parliamentarians with the provisions of the document under consideration. It was expressed by people's deputies V.I. Alksnis, V.V. Gnatyuk, S.G. Shuvalov, G.S. Igityan, and many others.

However, there were also proposals to reject the draft laws already during the first reading on conceptual grounds, which is relatively rare in the practice of the new Supreme Soviet. For instance, People's Deputy G.Sh. Kvaratskhelia expressed disagreement with the principles and approaches to the elaboration of the draft law on the languages of the USSR peoples by the Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Questions of the Development of Culture, Language, National and International Traditions, and Protection of the Historical Heritage. This draft was also questioned by People's Deputy A.D. Sakharov. And People's Deputy K.D.P. Prunskene announced: The entire Lithuanian delegation does not intend to take part in the vote on the draft law on citizenship.

The arguments and opinions differed, but as a result of the vote that was taken, all three draft laws were approved in the first reading and passed on to the appropriate Supreme Soviet commissions and committees for finalization, including the introduction of additions, taking account of observations submitted by deputies.

And so, only a few days remain before the end of the session. However the voters' hopes and expectations have not diminished by dint of this fact. How will they assess the outcome of the fall debates of our parliament? This will largely depend on the coming week. It won't be long before we know.

Resolution on Court Procedure Legislation

PM2011162389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution 'On the Procedure for Putting the Fundamental Principles of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Court Procedure' into Effect"]

[Text] In connection with the adoption of the Fundamental Principles of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Court Procedure, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To bring the Fundamental Principles of USSR and Union Republic Legislation into effect as from 1 December 1989.

2. To bring the provision of Article 7 of the Fundamental Principles on citizens' right to legal defense against illegal actions of organs of state management into effect as from 1 July 1990.

3. Until USSR and Union Republic legislation is brought into line with the Fundamental Principles of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Court Procedure existing legislative acts governing court procedure are to be applied insofar as they do not contravene the Fundamental Principles.

4. Until the establishment by USSR and union republic legislation of a procedure by dint of which civil and criminal cases are examined in court by a different composition of judges and people's assessors, (Article 11, points 1 and 2, of the Fundamental Principles), all civil and criminal cases are to be examined in the court of first instance by a judge and two people's assessors, and in the collegiums of the relevant courts under the appellate and supervisory procedure by three members of the court.

5. USSR and union republic court judges elected after 1 December 1988 are to remain in office for the period laid down by Article 152 of the USSR Constitution.

6. Union republic Supreme Soviets are instructed to bring union republic legislation in line with the Fundamental Principles of the USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Court Procedure.

7. The USSR law of 25 December 1958 "On the Ratification of the Fundamental Principles of USSR, Union, and Autonomous Republic Legislature" in the 25 June 1980 edition of the USSR Law (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1959, No 1, p 12; 1980, No 27, p 545) is to be invalidated by the comming into effect of the Fundamental Principles of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Court Procedure.
M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, the Kremlin, 13 November 1989

Shevardnadze Dialogue With Deputies Welcomed

PM2011152789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by parliamentary correspondent M. Kozhukhov under the general heading: "Dialogue in Interests of Perestroyka"]

[Text] Is the Politburo not embarrassed at the fact that the changes in our country are applauded by capitalist gentlemen? Does the minister not consider that the time has come to revise our attitude to the Czechoslovak events of 1968? Does the pope intend to come to the USSR...?

A foreign minister who answers legislators' questions, while no longer a sensation, is nonetheless a not entirely commonplace fact of our life. There is a reason that we complain that glasnost is being slow to break through into foreign policy and is irresolute in taking it "to task." In fact, much here is still surrounded by a wall of silence. There is no denying that in our complex world there is no getting away from the need for state secrets and mysteries. It is a question only of the extent of the forbidden zones where we, according to the logic of past years, will misunderstand something or explain it wrongly.

It is precisely sessions like the one held in the Kremlin that reduce the area of such zones to one of reasonable

sufficiency. Some 30 questions of all kinds were put by deputies to E.A. Shevardnadze.

What was noteworthy in this dialogue between the minister and the deputies? Undoubtedly the degree of frankness—it was virtually exhaustive. And, of course, the very tone of the conversation—respectful, amicable, and tactful —which also was appropriate, taking into account the quite understandable varying degrees of informedness among the interlocutors. Further—the obvious desire to listen to and understand each other, which is all the more appropriate: For both sides are still essentially only learning to work together.

Yes, our new parliament is no longer simply learning to raise tough questions of the state's foreign policy—it is learning to resolve them. Yes, a foreign minister who answers deputies' questions is no longer a sensation. What then? It would be good to make this a tradition. It would be good to have a practice which can keep us from the mistakes made in the past and from having inevitably to pay for them.

Political & Social

CPSU Conference on Perestroyka Set for January

PM2011154589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a decision to hold a conference of representatives of workers, peasants, and engineering and technical workers in the second half of January 1990 to discuss the progress of perestroyka and the practical tasks for the country's socioeconomic development in 1990.

PRAVDA Discusses Party Demagogues

PM1811200189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Communists' Ideological Stance"]

[Text] The diversity of opinions and the freedom to express them are typical features of our perestroyka and its gains. The democratization of society's life and broad glasnost have made it possible to emancipate people's minds and make them truly active participants in revolutionary renewal. The country has come to know hundreds and thousands of its citizens who think in a nonstandard fashion and are capable not only of boldly and uncompromisingly demolishing what appeared to be permanent stereotypes of thinking and acting, but also—and primarily—of suggesting constructive approaches toward the solution of topical problems of society's development and taking on the most difficult and most responsible work. This is convincing proof of the fact that Lenin's notion of socialism as the people's creation, which was deformed during the years of Stalin's personality cult and the stagnation period, is acquiring a real meaning today.

These processes were given an effective impetus by the Communist Party, the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, the 27th party congress, and the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Having put forward the initiative for society's revolutionary renewal, the CPSU also embarked on a course of perestroyka in the style and methods of its own work, of transformation of internal party relations, of affirmation of an atmosphere of genuine democracy within the party. This, as M.S. Gorbachev noted in his speech at the all-Union students' forum, will enable every Communist to really influence—by means of his opinion and his stance—the elaboration of party policy and the shaping of all its elected organs. This will be the way to overcome Communists' alienation from the life and activity of their political organization and to consolidate its role as society's political vanguard. New ideas about socialism, the prospects and paths of its development, and its genuinely democratic and humanist nature are taking shape, are rendered more specific, really interact with life, and are translated into deeds and plans in the daily work by the Central Committee and all party links. The features of our society's new image are becoming increasingly visible in the course of the implementation of political reform, the affirmation of full power of the soviets, the laying of the foundations of a rule-of-law state, and the expansion of economic democracy.

Approaching its scheduled 28th Congress under the watchword "A Renewed Party for a Renewed Society," the CPSU supports everything that is truly valuable in the development of social thinking and firmly rejects everything that we find unacceptable, everything that is associated with Stalinism and stagnation, arbitrary rule by administrative edict, breaches of socialist legality and of universal moral norms, total centralization, political authoritarianism and suppression of dissidence, parasitism and leveling, corruption and embezzlement of public funds. In the course of combating these negative phenomena and blind obedience, apathy, and indifference, the party is establishing broad and fruitful contacts with all who strive to really promote perestroyka's success by specific deeds.

We can graphically see in all this the consolidating role played by the CPSU, its ability to offer a flexible and dialectical response to changes in society's life, to become master of political methods, and to enrich its arsenal of ideological influences on people's minds in its confrontation with sundry extreme currents striving either to reverse the course of perestroyka processes or to push the masses into rash and, at times, extremist actions. Key importance obviously attaches here to the firm ideological stance by every Communist, to his ability to firmly uphold the socialist ideals and the working people's interests. After all, despite all the pluralism of views and opinions regarding the past and the prospects for our development, Communists have

and will retain certain fundamental, abiding values. Addressing today the sources and principles of revolution and Lenin's ideas of building the new society, the party extracts from the past everything that is valuable in our revolutionary heritage, everything that is heroic and universally applicable, and primarily the ideals of the Great October and Marxism-Leninism cleansed of the accretions of dogmatism, scholasticism, and time-serving interpretations.

"I perceive perestroyka as a spotlight aimed at people's souls," R. Khusyainov from Kazan wrote to PRAVDA. "It demands of party members not only knowledge of 'the right words' but mainly a clear-cut stance and specific actions. In addition to all else, it will also show us how many genuine Communists there actually are among our party's almost 20 million members."

Indeed, the truly complex reality of our society's revolutionary transformation is now becoming the touchstone which reveals the real complexion of party members and the extent to which their beliefs and philosophical principles are genuinely held. People today do not need to be especially courageous to spotlight shortcomings: The party itself is setting an example here. It is more difficult to overcome them in practice, to engage in constructive and creative work. This is what demands active efforts and courage, firmness in upholding the genuine—as opposed to imagined—goals of revolutionary perestroyka. One could hardly describe as genuine fighters for perestroyka those who give up in the face of difficulties or passively listen to demagogues who predict either an economic catastrophe or a "civil war," preach national egoism, and strive to break the country down into separate "smallholdings." Who else if not the Communists should, in these difficult times, be found and should be operating—as Lenin taught—out there in the thick of the workers' life, doing everything to keep alive people's faith that it is possible to successfully solve the tasks facing the country and, through their personal example, to carry others along in the great cause of society's renewal?

But do party members always act like this? Are they always fully aware of their responsibility for the fate of perestroyka? By no means all, and by no means always. The authoritative and persuasive word of party and soviet officials and members of the party's ideological aktiv is still rarely heard when soapbox passions are on the boil and the tone is often set by orators who are more concerned with their own popularity and have no hesitation to sweep aside our revolutionary gains, our past and present. N. Devitskiy from Poltava, a Communist of 30 years' standing, wrote to the editorial office and painfully described how city party committee members declined to participate in a rally attended by thousands in the city stadium, surrendering their positions without a fight. "The Marxists, the bolsheviks from the Lenin Guard," the author recalls, "spoke even when their audience numbered no more than 5 or 10 persons. This was a matter of several thousand! This is why the upper hand is often gained by garrulous demagogues while party functionaries seek refuge from the present behind their office doors."

It is impossible to disagree with the writer of this letter, especially since this is not an isolated case. But his letter also makes it obvious that it is impossible to rely only on those who are "ex officio" duty bound to rebuff demagogues and loudmouths. This is also the duty of every party member, regardless of the position he occupies, be it even the most modest. How can a genuine Communist sit on the fence when the party's honor and dignity are at stake, when its ideas are being denigrated?

To make matters worse, there are unfortunately people who carry party membership tickets and yet propagandize views which have nothing in common either with the goals of perestroyka or with the people's genuine interests. For example, how are we to appraise the arrogant claims that socialism in its Marxist-Leninist virginity is incapable of self-development, that the socialist idea may remain our lodestar, but not in its Russian, Bolshevik, plebeian-revolutionary form. That the time has supposedly come to stop fearing our own people who, allegedly due to their centuries-old cultural backwardness, are incapable of realizing how they should live without the party's help. To stop fearing the thoroughly dogmatized Marxism-Leninism which is leading us back into the 19th century while we have to make our way into the 21st... People like these, having forgotten their responsibility to the people, try to speak on the people's behalf.

It is worth repeating: The building of the new society which began under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik party after the Great October's victory, and its transformation at present, at the contemporary stage of development, have always involved a quest demanding a scientific analysis of actual reality, a forecast of the near future, and anticipation of both positive results and potential difficulties and complications. It is well known that the CPSU does not claim to be the repository of the ultimate truth. We do not perceive Lenin's ideological legacy as a collection of tried and tested prescriptions for all times. Vladimir Ilich Lenin himself took a most resolute stand against dogmatic approaches, calling on his fellow Marxists to constantly study and analyze the experience of socialist building and to creatively develop the revolutionary science. This is what the party is trying to do today, in the period of revolutionary perestroyka.

Social scientists—philosophers and economists, historians and sociologists, and representatives of other branches of knowledge—are now increasingly boldly, creatively, and actively joining the process of scientific analysis of the practice of perestroyka and the elaboration of a new concept of socialism. PRAVDA's editorial office mailbag shows that an active part in this is also played by party work practitioners, workers, rural working people, and representatives of the scientific and technical intelligentsia. Their written reflections are

interesting primarily because of the wealth of observations on life and the sharply critical rejection of formalism in the organization of ideological work and Communists' political education. Political debates on vitally important problems concerning the CPSU's renewal and its democratization are becoming part of party organizations' life not as swiftly as we would like, but are doing so steadily nonetheless. The party's primary links are showing greater awareness of their responsibility for Communists' education and their ideological tempering.

But even so, many valuable initiatives and innovative ideas still end up in the bureaucratic morass of apparatus constraints and snares. Very many party officials still stick to the principle of "just in case something goes wrong," wait for instructions and "guidelines" from above, and fear independent and originally thinking people. Here is one of the reasons why the fresh winds of perestroyka are still only slowly penetrating in places, apathy still reigns in a number—by no means small—of party organizations, and Communists' emotions burst out at informal rallies and debates. "Can we seriously talk of scientific world outlook," Communist Yu. Pakhotin from Tyumen asks, "while many of us still have only a vague idea of Marxism-Leninism based on isolated quotations from outdated textbooks and study aids... After all, Lenin himself remarked that illiterate people are detached from politics..."

Is this not the reason why those who dub themselves "standard-bearers of radical perestroyka" find it easy to gather audiences, why there is no principled appraisal of the verbosity by "theoreticians" who try to present October and even the country's entire subsequent history as a chain of mistakes, a tragic accident which brought nothing but suffering to the people.

"You can argue, you can have different appraisals of events and views of the path to the goal," E. Dolkhonova writes from Buryatiya, "but it is extremely unpleasant when a party comrade suddenly becomes hypocritical and tries to play up to people's fleeting moods and even to engage in elementary demagoguery." There is nothing to be said, except that this is right.

"There is nothing easier," Lenin warned, "than to demagogically carry along a crowd which would perceive its mistake only after the most bitter trials." So let us bear this warning of Lenin's in mind, let us do everything to ensure that every Communist—both in words and in deeds—lives up to the lofty title of member of Lenin's party, the party of perestroyka.

Pugo Interviewed on Party Membership

LD2011120289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Interview with Boris Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee, by Mikhail Leshchinskiy, political observer; from the "Political Rostrum" program; date and place of interview not given—recorded]

[Text] [Leshchinskiy] Boris Karlovich, you are our guest today. Allow me first of all, as your host, to offer you some tea. And, incidentally, I have a question. It was at your initiative that you came here. Why didn't you want us to meet in your study? Is it that you don't like it very much or that it might evoke painful memories in many people?

[Pugo] First of all, thanks for the tea. If I am to say why I have come here, well, I always feel like getting away from my study as often as possible, not because there is anything wrong with it, but because I like to see new things as much as possible.

[Leshchinskiy] I understand. But, you know, when your predecessors were working there, there was a rumor among the people that a first aid team was on duty in the waiting room. It's true that I have not noticed this at your office.

[Pugo] Well, I think that in general, of course, it really was just a rumor. First aid is scarcely necessary, although I understand that you are alluding to the fact that there are sharp discussions. That is indeed so. Often, comrades are called very strictly to account, but it doesn't go as far as first aid, for all that.

[Leshchinskiy] Well, thank goodness. Perhaps I have started our discussion somewhat naively, but the point is this: I spoke with many people before our meeting and, you know, our people don't have a very good idea about what the Party Control Committee does, what functions it performs. And, you know, a general opinion prevails that it is some kind of party punishment organ, as it were. Therefore, perhaps we can explain right away the aims, tasks, and working methods of your committee?

[Pugo] With pleasure, Mikhail Borisovich. I think that first of all, of course, it is not quite true that people perhaps know little about the committee. I have formed this opinion because, in the course of the year, as a rule more than 60,000 letters arrive at the committee.

[Leshchinskiy] These are mostly complaints and appeals probably.

[Pugo] No, people write about the most diverse issues, but since they are turning to the Party Control Committee it means that, in general, people know that the Party Control Committee is an organization to which one can turn, that they have faith in that organization. This is a good thing, most likely. But, at the same time, it must indeed be said that new aspects have cropped up in our work. The new aspects spring from the fact that the work of the whole party is changing. What is new is that the demand for a demarcation of functions among the party, soviet, and economic organs has definitely affected our committee, too. In what respect? Over the years the system of administration by injunction existed after all—let's be blunt—party organizations were often

replaced and, let's not close our eyes to this, it sometimes happens now too. There used to exist appropriate departments in the Party Central Committee which supervised particular branches. There was also such a system at the Party Control Committee. We had monitoring groups which were engaged in checking certain ministries.

[Leshchinskiy] And how is it now?

[Pugo] The structure has now changed considerably. First of all, just as the Central Committee has been reduced by 40 percent, the apparatus of the Party Control Committee has also been reduced.

[Leshchinskiy] By what percentage? By 40 percent as well?

[Pugo] Less, a little less, because its functions have changed somewhat on another level, after all. But, the apparatus has been reduced nevertheless, and the main thing is that we no longer have these monitoring groups for branches. There are groups of workers who work in territories. But, nonetheless, the main thing is probably what the committee does. You know, I have even brought with me the party statute and I was able to read in the statute...Well, it's written very succinctly there that the committee was created in order to deal with issues related to the execution of statutory requests by all communists. That's the main thing. But, the second thing is to consider appeals.

[Leshchinskiy] It is succinct, but its scope is extraordinarily large, overall.

[Pugo] That's probably so, but nevertheless it can also be quite insufficient because, of course...[changes thought] You know, this is what has happened. You asked me a question about letters. Indeed, letters are sometimes limitless. At times people do not have a clear idea of what the Party Control Committee does and what are its possibilities. Some people imagine, well, perhaps it's flattery, but they think that, in general, the Party Control Committee is capable of resolving literally all issues. Some people see us as fixers. Scientists turn to us in order to help bring about the implementation of some scientific ideas, shall we say. But I think, nevertheless, that this is not our job. We must not, under any circumstances, replace anyone. We must not replace the people's control, the trade unions, ministries, or the procuracy. The main task facing us consists of issues related to concern for strengthening the party. And, in general, I would say—perhaps more briefly—that we must first of all involve ourselves with and think about the health of the party. Perhaps you will even ask the question: Why, is it sick?

[Leshchinskiy] I was thinking of asking that later, if you would allow me, in a slightly different form, it is true.

[Pugo] Go ahead and ask it.

[Leshchinskiy] It really is an important task. But, is the Party Control Committee competent to resolve it in total, nevertheless? Its name is the Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee. That is, you are in a way restricted, the zone of your activity is restricted. For example, do the first secretaries of republican Communist Party central committees come under your jurisdiction, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, members of the Politburo? I am asking this because we all know that during recent years there have been many infringements at this level of party authority too. And perhaps, in this connection, there are now the preliminary outlines for a reorganization of the party control organs in general?

[Pugo] You have asked a very serious question and you were right when you said that it is the Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee. What does this signify? It signifies that at the present time only the chairman of the Party Control Committee is approved by a plenum of the party Central Committee. The other workers, including deputy chairmen and members of the Party Control Committee are all approved by decision of the Politburo. During Lenin's time it was different. During Lenin's time the Party Control Committee—at that time it was called the Control and Auditing Commission, or Central Commission.

[Leshchinskiy] That was 70 years ago.

[Pugo] It was created 70 years ago. It was elected by the congress and was accountable to the congress. For this reason its functions were, of course, somewhat different. I would say that they differed considerably. You asked who can be monitored [kontrolirovat]. In general, we monitor the execution of decisions by the Politburo, and if a Politburo decision concerns the leadership of a union republic, then we monitor the leadership of the union republic. If it concerns a communist who is the leader of a ministry, we are entitled to monitor the activity of that leader. That is, properly speaking, we are entitled to implement very wide-ranging control. Our powers on that level are very wide-ranging. I should like to say at once—I don't know whether you are going to ask about this or not—but probably there is one boundary, nevertheless, which we must not cross under any circumstances, and we are very well aware of this. Just as the party as a whole must operate within the framework of the law, so the Party Control Committee too must operate within the framework of the Constitution, within the framework of the law.

[Leshchinskiy] I have looked at material from sessions of your committee over the past 3 or 4 years, perhaps even somewhat more, probably. And, you know, I have gained the impression that, nevertheless, problems relating to individuals prevail, that is, the relationship between the bureaucrat and the person who has suffered for the truth, shall we say. Mostly they are such and at the same time, you see, these relations are now very often passing in life into the sphere of ideology. What do I mean? For example, the participation of communists in informal movements and organizations, and in discussions in

which opinions are voiced for which, in general, previously they would probably have been expelled from the party for conduct incompatible with the title of communist. There were such precedents in the past, you know. What is your attitude to the participation of communists in these informal movements and in discussions—even in internal party discussions, shall we say—but in which opinions are occasionally voiced about even the very liquidation of the CPSU and the establishment of a multi-party system in our country. How do these things fit together, and does your committee intend to precisely examine these issues?

[Pugo] You have asked me a very big question there.

[Leshchinskiy] Yes, it is a big one, but the essence is that...

[Pugo] Yes, I understand. First of all, I would like to say that I am grateful to you as a Communist for noting and voicing your observations about the work of the committee. I think that is good. Secondly, I must reiterate that the novelty is probably that perhaps a few years ago, alas, you would simply not have had the opportunity to...

[Leshchinskiy, interrupting] To ask you that question...

[Pugo, continuing]...to examine all these documents that you were discussing.

[Leshchinskiy] Yes, perhaps you're right there.

[Pugo] That would probably have been impossible because, alas, things were often stamped highly confidential or confidential and that does not happen now, and should not happen.

[Leshchinskiy] Yes.

[Pugo] With regard to the very essence of the question, I think that the following must be said here: that to a very large extent, the very criteria for understanding what is possible and what is not possible for a communist and for a party organization have changed, and primarily what is possible for a Communist. In this connection, I would like to say that really during the years when the command-based administrative system existed, when a very large number of principles were warped, including the principles by which the party itself worked, we grew accustomed to the reign of a kind of uniformity of thinking and it was considered the norm that, as it were, everyone had to adhere to completely the same view. I think that today, one can say firmly that we are moving away from that. And we are moving away from it without regret.

If we are talking about the committee itself, then recently we have had to work on the rehabilitation of cases from a long time ago. You know [Leshchinskiy interrupts, "from the 1930's 1940's and start of the 1950's"] from the 1930's and 1940's. But I think that it is no less important, perhaps, well let's say no less important, to rehabilitate those people who, let's say suffered in some way or who were condemned by the party for deviating from generally accepted views. Not so long ago, we restored Roy Aleksandrovich Medvedev to the party. He is now a people's deputy. We restored the well known publicist Len Karpinskiy. We restored them to the party. They were expelled for views incompatible with being a Communist.

[Leshchinskiy] That is the wording from the Party Statute.

[Pugo] That's right. But what had happened? Strictly speaking, what had happened was that they possessed manuscripts in which they stated ideas, well, I don't know, perhaps even today one could not agree with some of them, but these were, firstly their ideas, and secondly, I think generally that they were basically right in their description of the distortions permitted at that time.

[Leshchinskiy] Boris Karlovich, my next question will probably also be a long one, so you'll be able to have a sip of tea as I ask it. We received a letter here at Central Television which got us all very worked up, literally. The letter contained a party card. The letter came from Stavropol Kray, with this enclosure, from Comrade Tsis, a communist since 1971. Here he expounds all the circumstances of the matter. I want to hand this over to the right quarter—it is probably to you, of course.

[Pugo] Most likely.

[Leshchinskiy] At the same time, though, there is a question here. We are unfortunately aware at present of many cases of people leaving the party, leaving it of their own free will. Do you have any figures on this? This comrade was simply aggrieved, so to speak, some injustice had occurred in his life. I hope your comrades will sort it out. Though this, of course, is not the way to do things—sending one's party card in an envelope to Central Television.

[Pugo] This, alas, is no isolated instance: there have recently been similar cases of people leaving the CPSU. As to whether these are many or few, over the past year, 18,000 people have left the CPSU of their own free will, have handed in their application to leave. If, however, one recalls that the party numbers over 19 million then this is altogether very few—0.00-something per cent—but nevertheless these are people, Communists all the same. Who are they? One could...

[Leshchinskiy, interrupting] This nevertheless reflects certain processes taking place not only in the party but in society as well.

[Pugo] Undoubtedly. Who are the people, then? We have tried to analyze this.

[Leshchinskiy] Are these the worst people, incidentally?

[Pugo] My view is this: again your question is probably a natural one. These are probably not always the worst people, because about one third of them are pensioners. [Leshchinskiy] The worst people you expel from the party, anyway.

[Pugo] The party organizations do indeed expel the worst people. So, one third of these people are pensioners, people who have sometimes worked in the party for very many years—and let us not be afraid to using resounding words—people who have sometimes even devoted their life to party work or the party, but who today feel themselves to be weak and sometimes superfluous. And it is perhaps his conscience that tells him that if he cannot be an active link in the party, in which—he wrote, after all, that he ought to be an active worker—take an active part in party ranks, and this prompts him to submit his application to leave. There are cases like that. There are cases where it is a form of protest of some sort, for instance; there are instances when people send in their cards because they have lost faith in the ideas, I would even say. Sometimes these are people who have run up against injustice in the localities—alas there are cases like that.

[Leshchinskiy] But people are also admitted to party membership.

[Pugo] People are indeed.

[Leshchinskiy] And furthermore numbers for that are not falling, as far as I can understand. It is another matter that perhaps these quotas which previously arose have now perhaps at last been eliminated.

[Pugo] Yes. There are now more...

[Leshchinskiy, interrupting] It was compulsory to have a certain number of workers, a certain number of collective farm worker

[Pugo] There are no longer such quotas. There are no longer any drives to admit people for party membership. Admittance has fallen slightly. And for several organizations, I would even say that there has been a substantial reduction. Should that frighten us? I don't think so. Why not? Because it is no secret that previously many people joined the party for primarily career-based motives, thinking that it would help them progress in their jobs and so forth. That does not occur now. Times are different now. These are times when, let me say it straight out, Communists are sometimes scolded, at times justly.

[Leshchinskiy] And the prestige of the party has, in my view, been reduced before our eyes.

[Pugo] The prestige of several organizations has fallen; the prestige of their leaders has fallen.

[Leshchinskiy] Yes, and here we are moving on to the question of the sickness of the party. Do you remember the start of our conversation? I would like to remind you of the words of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, which were addressed to party controllers at that time 70 years ago. You will recall that he said they should work harmoniously on the greatest treasure of the proletariat, the party. Well, do you think that slogan, these words, are to the point right now? Is the party really the greatest treasure of the proletariat as it was before?

[Pugo] Let me say that in preparing for our conversation you found a very good way of putting it. That really was correct at that time, and it remains a very correct and important issue today, as well. The unity of the party is an extremely important issue, but I would like to say this: Of course, unity today is understood in a different way to the way in which it was probably understood a few years ago. I will talk about myself. Let's say I am categorically opposed to unity when the voice of the ordinary communist cannot be heard. I am opposed to the sort of unity which is defined in the terms which were sometimes accepted—do you remember there used to be a phrase "iron discipline." Times have probably changed. Today we have an uncommon need for unity. We need it. But this unity must be achieved on a completely new basis. It must be a unity which arises on the basis of understanding, on the basis, perhaps of discussion, on the basis of numerous meetings, on the basis of the fact that the clamor that there is in the country—and it exists in the party too—must undoubtedly be taken into consideration. In general that is a normal phenomenon. Just look at the discussion now underway, let's say, in the Moscow party organization.

[Leshchinskiy] Yes, the party's role...

[Pugo interrupts] Indeed, it will undoubtedly develop in the country before the congress...

[Leshchinskiy interrupts] Yes, particularly in the run-up to the congress. And probably the republican congresses.

[Pugo] The 28th congress. It is bound to. It will also happen at the congresses. All that is a normal pheonmenon. During this discussion policy will be formulated, the point of view that we will pursue will be formulated. This point of view will probably be approved at the 28th Party Congress. It will become a must for communists. I see no other way. It must be so.

[Leshchinskiy] Boris Karlovich, you have already cited your personal experience, and I want to tell our listeners that I believe you have devoted more than 28 years to Komsomol and party work, yes, although, by training you are an engineer...

[Pugo interrupts] Did you calculate that?

[Leshchinskiy] Yes, I worked it out. You graduated from Riga Polytechnic Institute. You are 52 years old, I think this may be said, already, by the way. Yes?

[Pugo] Yes.

[Leshchinskiy] You were of course born in February. Your parents were revolutionaries, it may be plainly said—the Latvian Rifles [Latyshskiye Strelki] as the people have long called them. And I have this question: Your parents—this was a time of, well, let's say, of idealists in certain things, yes? A time of revolutionaries believing in ideas, and willing, for the sake of this idea, to renounce everything, up to and including their lives. So far as I am aware, your parents fought in Perekop [Crimea]. Well, if one compares their ideas, their lives,

and your life, say, the life of your son, your wife; is there any difference? Are both you and your dear ones just as true to this idea in all respects, and have you always been just as willing to give up your life for its sake?

[Pugo] I think that it may be said with absolute conviction that in the main we are continuing what was inherent to our parents. At least with respect to myself, I say this with absolute conviction.

[Leshchinskiy] Yes, by the way, your mother, thank goodness, is still alive and living with you in Riga.

[Pugo] Yes, she has also been a party member since 1927. She tries to take an active part in the work of one of the party school organizations. But I want just to say again...[pauses] really, you have said that perhaps somehow they were idealists, to some degree. This was certainly the case—for it was a time when the revolution had triumphed, when people were speaking about world revolution, and when they both entered a workers' faculty. They got to know each other and had a family. They were sent to work in Blagoveshchensk, where my older brother was born. Then they lived in Kalinin, only...

[Leshchinskiy interrupts] Where you were born...

[Pugo] They were building a new life. Perhaps they were naive in some things. But on the main things they were right, and we should continue this line.

[Leshchinskiy] Boris Karlovich, from, well, your lyrical retreat, let's put it like that, it is clear that a great deal, your birthday, links you with Russia, although the land of your forebears and your motherland is Latvia. It was there where you have worked for almost all your conscious life, say, both in Komsomol district work, in the Latvian KGB, and in the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. And probably many of those processes which are now attracting the attention of the Soviet people, and indeed attention is attracted to them in the world at large, began of course back during your stay in Latvia. What is your personal attitude toward what is going on there?

[Pugo] Yes, here, a great many events are taking place, events which both set us on guard and disturb us, and force us to endure. What lies at the root of these events? I think that at the root of these events is what was once customarily considered—that internationalism is sort of passed on in the genes of the Soviet people. But that is surely not the case. And, really, many issues were simply overlooked. Really, this was also probably connected with the criminal nationalities policy of Stalin. It was connected with the fact that these issues relating to the bringing of nations together were addressed in an unjustified way. The issues accumulated.

When restructuring came along, people got the opportunity to speak about a great deal. I want to say immediately that it is not restructuring which is guilty, in any way, of what happened, that certain strains in interethnic relations took place. No. On the contrary.

[Leshchinskiy] A certain amount of negative things accumulated, and it provided the opportunity to undo it, of course.

[Pugo] A great deal had accumulated. Yes. for this reason, I believe that in general, of course, a great many issues have accumulated in the national republics which are being raised with complete justification, well, as is sometimes said, by the indigenous population.

Perhaps this was also connected with disrespect for the national language, and at times a misunderstanding of and disrespect for national traditions. Much could be said of this. And the process started, the initial process of national rebirth began. I think that this is a correct process. Unfortunately, one must, after all, say plainly that alongside these healthy phenomena which take place and which have to be supported, alongside these there also appeared certain clearly extremist groups, nationalistically minded groups, groups of people who are today posing the question that perhaps it is generally worth seceding from the USSR. Figuratively speaking, they think that it is possible to slam shut the door between the republic and the country, and, behind this door to start shifting the furniture around after the Western model. There are some people who have such ideas.

Firstly, I think that these are immature ideas. They are devoid of reality. We today have to use the opportunity which has been presented.

[Leshchinskiy] So what else concerns you most of all? What, say, do you think of when it you happen to wake up at night, a pressing thought, some kind of concern-...what is it for you?

[Pugo] You know, I perhaps don't want to turn to various high- flown words, but what I would like to speak about is this. Perhaps you recall the words of Lev Tolstoy, that people should be joyous, and if they aren't, then one has to seek out the cause, what is the reason. Why? Well, I don't think that I will show a kind of lack of modesty—after all, I really do have to deal with many issues—and I too am looking for the answer to this very question: what is the reason? there is the supremacy of common human values. Man should be at the center of our work.

And if I speak about myself, I would like to say that, looking at people, if I do not see joy in the eyes of people, if I do not again see belief, confidence, then in general, I will probably not feel happy myself.

[Leshchinskiy] Thank you. It remains to express the hope that your wishes are fulfilled more frequently in your office.

[Pugo] Thank you.

[Leshchinskiy] On this I shall take my leave of you, and I think that we should also receive a lot of letters from viewers inasmuch as we have of course been unable to reply to all questions. We at Central Television will receive the letters, and I promise to acquaint you with them. This I hope wil be grounds for further meeting between us. All the best. Thank you.

Further on Moscow All-Union Students' Forum

Shevardnadze Addresses Forum

LD1711195189 Moscow TASS in English 1913 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voitsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev:

Mankind is now at a watershed stage of its development. The point at issue is likely to be a second renaissance which will give civilisation a new quality, primarily marked by the unity of all peoples on the foundation of universal human values. This simple idea was the keynote of a meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Soviet students which took place at the Foreign Ministry today.

"Bringing perestroyka policy to its logical conclusion will have key importance for the implementation of this breakthrough," he told a large group of delegates to the All-Union Students' forum in Moscow.

Curbing the arms race at any cost remains one of the key goals of Soviet foreign policy, despite the conclusion of a number of agreements with the United States, the minister said. He believes that the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit in the Mediterranean would be a conceptual one, including in the field of arms reductions.

On other issues of paramount significance, Shevardnadze stressed that under modern conditions ecological problems are more serious and dangerous than even nuclear ones. After all the nuclear problems are manageable. "It depends on man and man's reason whether to push or not to push the red button," he said. "The most awful and dangerous is what happens in nature."

The third major problem is an economic one: contradictions between industrialised and developing countries, financial debts of developing countries. In fact, the developing world cannot cope with this problem. The situation is volatile in both social and political fields.

Shevardnadze gave explanations to students on a whole number of other issues of Soviet foreign policy. Delegates to the All-Union Students' Forum familiarized themselves with the work of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Their numerous questions were answered by Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister, heads of the Ministry's directorates and sectors.

Gorbachev on Student Role

LD1711232389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2044 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Interview with President M.S. Gorbachev by unidentified correspondent in the foyer of the Moscow Palace of Youth, where the All-Union Student Forum is being held; date not given; from the "View" program—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich, may Soviet television—the "View" program—ask you a question? Tell us, please, 35 years ago when you were a student, what did you dream about, apart from upcoming exams?

[Gorbachev] I thought, just as all students and young people do, about the fact that life would be interesting. I think that this is characteristic, even for that difficult time. Then we came to a watershed situation. The year 1953 was our third year at university, the year of Stalin's death. The year we graduated, 1955, was already the eve of the 20th congress, the first decisions had already been made, the exposure of Beria, the decision about socialist legality.

[Correspondent] Your generation is the child of the 20th congress.

[Gorbachev] Yes, but nonetheless I say that we are also children of wartime. This made an immense impression on our generation. We did not take part in the war. When the war started, I was 10 years old, but the point is that we remember all that. The front passed through the village where I was, both going that way and back the other way. Therefore, we can compare. This was an immense advantage for our generation.

[Correspondent] Tell me please, what do you think? Is there an adequate role in the contemporary political system for the student fraternity and young people? After all, students are the most radical advocates of transformations in every age.

[Gorbachev] I think that this all still has to be well considered. We, along with the Komsomol and with the student fraternity, along with the Committee on Youth in the Supreme Soviet, with the government, and naturally with the active participation of the Central Committee, must rethink the entire youth issue. I think that society cannot consider itself, cannot feel confident if it is not confident that it is training reliable successors who will not only take the baton but will also speak their minds.

[Correspondent] The young successors tend to want advances to be made more quickly than is possible. In the (?70's) it was the custom to promise a lot. Today you and, so to speak, the leaders of the country and others are more sparing with promises. How do you envisage perestroyka in the next 5 years?

[Gorbachev] All the same, I think that the next 5 years will put things in their places. I think that there is no way

back for us. It is important only that we, for the first time, prove both to ourselves and to the whole world that socialism is the system which is capable of self-renewal, a normal and natural self-renewal, may that be within a framework of debate, struggle, and comparison of views, but without head-on collisions, without blood, and on a basis of democracy and glasnost. This has to be proved. Today we have people, both on one side and the other, who are driving precisely toward this road. I think that our people should know this, that we should display restraint and adherence to our choice, and all will come about. Things are, of course, difficult for us, but have they not been more difficult, when generally the destiny of the country is on the thread of to be or not to be for that people or for that state? I do not think that is the question. But the question is: Will the state be among the developed, advanced, democratic states, which are the flagships of civilization?

[Correspondent] Thank you. At the current time, there are plans for several appearances by you on television. Can one count on one of them being on the "View" program, although we have many criticisms?

[Gorbachev] If "View" will come closer to me in its views, then it will take place.

Yazov Interviewed

LD1711234489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Today is the 3d day of the All-Union Student Forum. Its participants have returned to their higher educational establishments [VUZes] and technical colleges in order to take part in the work of the Discussion Centers and Roundtables, in working out draft resolutions on topical problems of the higher and secondary specialized schools. Please, listen to our correspondent Vera Tsukanova's report:

[Begin recording] [Tsukanova] Today at the Moscow Kuybyshev Construction Engineering Institute, the participants of the All-Union Student Forum gathered for work at the discussion center on Perestroyka of the Higher and Secondary Specialized Education—Organization of the learning process. After Dmitriy Timofeyevich Yazov, candidate Politburo member and USSR defense minister spoke in front of all the participants, the young people went to work in the sections. Now I can see the work of the section entitled: The Student and the Military Department. Dmitriy Timofeyevich Yazov answered the students' questions. There are very many questions, and as soon as it is over, we will try to interview him. [passage omitted: interviews with the students]

Dmitriy Timofeyevich, I believe that your presence here at the section of The Student and Military Training [title as heard] is not by accident, and we have witnessed how many questions there were. You were literally showered with questions. Were they, in your opinion, questions of principle, or did minor questions, questions of not much interest prevail?

[Yazov] No, I think, that the questions were fundamental ones, deserved every attention. But the majority of the questions were, first of all, due to the students and young people being informed insufficiently about service in the Armed Forces, about the necessity to serve, and on a number of other issues. But, at the same time, one can note that there were also such questions that had a political slant, especially on the part of the students from the Baltic republics. I think that the formulation was also correct.

[Tsukanova] Literally before interviewing you, I interviewed a young woman and a young man from the Baltic region. They said that, of course, they are in favor of having a professional army and do not support students teaching military science at the VUZes; nevertheless, they believe that at present it is premature.

[Yazov] They are right to think that way. There is not a single state that has an interest in having a professional army. I have already said that if a war happens, then everyone should fight. If there is a professional army, then not everyone gets military training. In addition to that, a professional army costs a lot; surely people understand that. In this economic situation in which we find ourselves today, we are simply not in a position to have a professional army.

[Tsukanova] The last question: Your impressions of the forum?

[Yazov] I have enjoyed the meeting. They ask interesting questions, try to find democratic solutions, sometimes in a primitive way; but at the same time, people will start learning public activities and political activities from it. I believe that it is a normal process.

[Tsukanova] Judging by your reaction to the questions, one gets the impression that your are ready to help them, and to help even more than it is possible now.

[Yazov] Absolutely, on all those questions that were presented—I have collected them all—we will try on the level of the General Staff and other directorates that are interested in it, to work through all the questions. Where we can be of any help, we will undoubtedly give it. [end recording]

Party, State Leaders Speak at Student Forum

LD1811003289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] In Moscow at the All-Union Student Forum, today was a day of discussions.

[Begin recorded video report; meeting shown in progress] Party and state leaders participated in the discussion of the decision on the main subjects of the debates.

Comrade Ligachev took part in the debates of the group which discussed the working activity of students and pupils in their spare time. He gave his support to the delegates demands for creating better conditions for the work and daily life of agricultural detachments. [video shows ligachev speaking from the rostrum to an audience of young people] In his speech, Comrade Ligachev stressed that the principle of voluntary participation in this kind of detachment must not be replaced with en masse refusal to participate. After all, more than half of rural labor is still done l hand. Aid is necessary. It is indisputable that students and pupils have done a great service to the fact that the harvest collected this year is larger than in previous years. Later, answering questions, Comrade Ligachev dwelled in greater detail on the essence of the modern agrarian policy of the party.

[Video shows Medvedev] Delegates and Comrade Medvedev held a meeting during a discussion of students and sociopolitical problems of society. The main topics of Comrade Medvedev's speech were theoretical foundations of socialism, undeservedly forgotten ideals of the past, a search for democratizing society, students, and interethnic relations. No doubt the tragic pages of our country's history and mistakes must not be forgotten. But their analysis is needed not in order to stand still, but to build a state on Lenin's principles.

[Video shows Slyunkov speaking] Comrade Slyunkov's speech at the forum dealt with trade union problems of the higher educational establishments. He welcomed the creation of the student trade union association and noted that the students' self-reliance is the real way to deliver them from the inertia that is still inherent in young members of the trade union. One of the most important tasks of the state problem is the fulfillment of norms and regulations for the protection of students' labor and health.

[Video shows Biryukova speaking] Students' social position and the conditions of their daily life were discussed during the debates in which Comrade Biryukova took part. Perhaps the most heated arguments and the most extreme viewpoints are a characteristic of this group, which heard statistics. The shortage of the total area of hostel buildings amounts to 7 million square miles in the country. What is more, at the student hostels of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry of the Higher Education alone, strangers occupy about 20,000 places. One is puzzled by high prices in many cafes and canteens for young people. Comrade Biryukova briefed the delegates on the principles of the state's approach to the tackling of these matters. She stressed the need to refine the policy of the state and party in the sphere of building student hostels, residential centers for young people, in the development of the system of scientific and technical creativity of young people to bring all actions together in a strategic plan.

[Video shows Razumovskiy speaking] Comrade Razumovskiy discussed in his speech the fundamental issues of the restructuring in the party. He took into account the delegates' interest and numerous notes containing questions about the current structure of the party apparatus. Comrade Razumovskiy explained the position of party leadership in the cadre policy. Talking about the current serious difficulties of Komsomol, he noted that Komsomol organizations must come out of the crisis and stand up to it. This is within their power.

[Video shows Yazov speaking] Comrade Yazov visited the group which discussed restructuring of higher and secondary specialized education. He agreed that no doubt the delegates have the right to make demands for free visits to classes at military departments. Comrade Yazov expressed his own viewpoint that the defense of the fatherland requires not only high professionalism from military personnel, but what is extremely important is the minimum that every person should acquire. Having dwelled on the methods of restructuring in the army, Comrade Yazov singled out a range of tasks for creating in the Armed Forces a situation ruling out manifestations of professional incompetence and nonregulations. He talked about the steps that have been taken to improve the conditions of soldiers' daily life: Tomorrow a plenary meeting will be held, and I think it will write down all the decisions endorsed by the delegates in its final documents.

[Announcer] Also today, Comrade Shevardnadze met a large group of the delegates of the All-Union Student Forum.

Declaration on Perestroyka

LD1911210289 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—By TASS correspondents Galina Vinitskaya and Veronika Romanenkova:

Delegates taking part in a student forum which ended here on Sunday passed a "political declaration" which calls for measures to make perestroyka irreversible and presents students' views of differe political and social developments in the Soviet Union.

Differing opinions and heated debates during the five-day long meeting did not prevent the students to arrive at common decisions and adopt nearly two dozens of resolutions on school reforms, humanisation of education, trade union and Komsomol work at schools, and ways of solving students' academic and social problems.

All resolutions will be submitted to the Soviet parliament and government.

Students called on the Supreme Soviet to pass a law on education which will allocate no less than 6 per cent of national income for education.

The delegates agreed that higher schools shall be indepedent and free to choose the curriculum and teaching programmes.

The majority said that students shall have freedom in studying Marxist philosophy, or other trends and concepts.

High up on the agenda was proposal to set up an independent Soviet students' organisation.

After heatedly debating the issue, the delegates decided that it is currently impossible to set up a uniform orgnisation due to discord in the students' movement.

Meanwhile, they said they would welcome any new student organisations established within the Soviet Constitution.

The forum called for more contacts with students in other countries.

Further on Ryzhkov Meeting With Miners

LD1711141689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Our reporter Vera Shchelkunova will open the newscast. She has just returned from the Kremlin and will tell you, comrades, about Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's meeting with representatives of the country's mining basins.

[Shchelkunova] The miners' delegates have been in Moscow for a few days now. Yesterday they had a meeting with their minister and today they met with the head of government. Today's meeting had to be transferred to the Supreme Soviet because many miners came and there were more people wanting to attend than the Council of Ministers Hall could hold. The subject of the discussion was how Decision 608 was being fulfilled or, more accurately, what was not being fulfilled in the decision adopted to satisfy the miners' demands.

Speeches were made and are still being made—since the meeting will evidently be a long one—by representatives of the Donbass, Kuzbass, Karaganda, Vorkuta, Cheremkhovo. The range of their complaints covers all aspects of life. In this sense, the miners' dissatisfaction is a reflection of the dissatisfaction of the whole population, a reflection of the social tension throughout society. It is another matter that in all probability in this section of society, of the working class, the problems have become particularly acute in connection with the extreme conditions of life and work.

The demand heard most often at today's meeting was: you promised, so give it to us or else we will not work. The paradox is that it is clear to everyone, including the miners that to give it is necessary to take, but from whom? Of course, there was no mention of this.

It is not for nothing that I spoke of the words uttered most often. Proposals were also made on ways to get out of the situation. A whole program was put forward, for example, one by Comrade (Avalyan) from the Kuzbass. He formulated it this way: complete autonomy with the possibility of transferring over a period of 3 years to a market economy and setting up open economic zones. If the government cannot agree to this, said (Avalyan), it should itself find the resources to satisfy all the demands of the miners. Of course, (Avalyan) is taking a vast risk, for autonomy for the coal miners without exactly the same conditions for interlinked industries—and hardly anyone is ready for this at present, at any rate—could turn out...I am even afraid to say how it might turn out.

On the subject of the strikes, I do not know whether this is a way out. I simply report what the Vostsibugol [Eastern Siberian Coal] Association workers are doing. Understanding that a shortage of fuel in their Siberian conditions would affect them, too, they have drawn up their demands and proposals and sent them to the government with the condition that they should be examined in exactly the same way as the strikers' demands.

I will not undertake to draw conclusions or even to describe the nature of today's meeting, to say whether this is an ultimatum or a search for joint decisions, but I hope that it is the latter. I will cite the words of (Boris Andreyevich Grebenyuk), a miner from the Donbass. He said literally this: We understand and should recognize that at that time the government manifestly undertook overly ambitious plans. In the very acute economic situation it was forced to undertake these obligations. Now, said Grebenyuk, we must reexamine these undertakings and establish realistic time scales and find those really responsible for the various decisions.

The meeting is continuing. I think its importance goes beyond the framework of purely miners' affairs.

Proposes Commissions

LD1711204889 Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—Soviet Prime-Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov who met with representatives of miners in the Kremlin today said that strikes are "a dead-end alley".

The head of the government emphasised that the current strike of miners in Vorkuta, northern Russia, is used by definite forces which pursue their political aims. Ryzhkov told miners that they should not allow to use themselves as a tool of political struggle.

The Soviet premier said that strikes have a negative effect on the situation in the economy, which he described as extremely complicated. Among the reasons for this situation in the national economy Ryzhkov

mentioned the fact that the market is out of balance. The prime-minister proposed to form special commissions in all coal mining regions of the country. They would include representatives of the government and representatives of the workers.

Ryzhkov said that the commissions would effectively control the fulfilment of government decree number 608 which was adopted in August and which is aimed at meeting miners' demands and at solving problems connected with production requirements of mines. At the same time Ryzhkov emphasized that such commissions cannot function under pressure, when workers committees threaten them with strikes.

As regards miners' economic demands, the Soviet prime-minister said that such matters as wholesale and purchase prices of coal, the volume of the obligatory state order and the structure of the industry require serious analysis.

Dwelling on the demands of representatives of Karaganda miners (Kazakhstan) to close a nuclear range in the Semipalatinsk area, Ryzhkov said that this matter will be considered by a competent governmental commission in the first quarter of next year. The prime-minister said there will be no more nuclear tests at the Semipalatinsk range in 1989.

Summing up the meeting with miners representatives, Ryzhkov said that this was a necessary meeting. Though the debate was complex, it will make it possible to improve the state of affairs in the industry by joint efforts, the Soviet premier said.

Talks Described

PM2011155589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[D. Valovoy report: "Open Discussion. On N.I. Ryzhkov's Meeting With Miners"]

[Text] On 6 November the press published an appeal by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the leaders and labor collectives of the country's coal basins which stated that on 17 November the head of government would have a meeting with the participation of representatives of the labor collectives of the coal basins at which progress in implementing Council of Ministers Resolution No 608 would be examined. Serious preparations were made for the meeting. The very fact that it has been held is a vivid example and a result of perestroyka and of the firm establishment of new principles of interrelations between workers and leaders. There was an open, constructive discussion by the representatives of the mining collectives and the head of government at the meeting. What was discussed?

Opening the conference in the Kremlin, N.I. Ryzhkov said:

"We are pleased to welcome the participants in the meeting, which is attended by representatives of practically all the country's coal basins. The chief purpose of our conference is to examine progress in fulfilling Resolution No 608. The second task is to find ways to stabilize the work of the coal industry so we can work normally and advance the country's socioeconomic development confidently. From the large number of questions, I would like to single out two fundamental ones.

"The first relates to pensions. You are already familiar with the draft of the new Law on Pensions, which has been submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet. It will soon be published for nationwide discussion. It will take precisely R35 billion to implement it. The other fundamental question relates to leave. We carefully studied this problem, too, and submitted a draft law to the Supreme Soviet 10 November. We hope that this draft will be examined by the Supreme Soviet in its first reading before the end of the session."

After this the conference's work procedure was agreed. The workers asked that long reports and coreports not be made. It was agreed that L.D. Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the Fuel and Energy Complex, and Coal Industry Minister M.I. Shchadov would deliver brief reports on the essence of the question, and then speeches would begin according to a list submitted to the Presidium by the miners.

L.D. Ryabev cited a number of specific pieces of information on progress in fulfilling the resolution, devoting special attention here to the development of the social sphere. He said, in particular, that the volume of housing construction at the Ministry of the Coal Industry will total approximately 2.6 million square meters this year. The increase next year will amount to 15 percent, and 4-4.5 million square meters are planned for 1995.

M.I. Shchadov cited the following statistic relating to progress in fulfilling resolution No. 608. Precisely 253 targets have been set for the ministry as a whole, including 144 for the period under review. Nine of them have not been fulfilled. Why? The minister named a number of painful points in the sector's work and reasons holding up fulfillment of the resolution and of order No. 115. At the same time valid complaints were also addressed to the miners in connection with the fulfillment of the mutual pledges defined in the joint decisions of government commissions and of representatives of labor collectives. Owing to interruptions in work, during the first 10 months of this year alone the coal industry failed to supply consumers with approximately 14 million tonnes of coal, including 1.2 million tonnes for the population. Under the winter conditions that have begun, many metallurgical, power generation, and machine-building enterprises and municipal and domestic consumers have ended up in a difficult situation, particularly in northern parts of the country.

The conference participants extended the list of general and regional causes holding up fulfillment of the government resolution. Let us single out some of these causes.

The majority of the speakers spoke of and cited specific examples of neglect of the social sphere. Additional funds have already been allocated in order to realize the planned results in the social sphere, the level of the state order has been limited with the intention that the rest will be placed at the disposal of collectives, and the sale of coal at commercial prices has been permitted, including for export.

The next problem which was at the center of attention was the extremely unsatisfactory material and technical supplies.

There was an acute discussion of wholesale prices. Many speakers cited facts to the effect that there is and can be no economic accountability or self-financing without scientifically substantiated prices reflecting socially necessary expenditure. In this connection L.D. Ryabev reported that a draft of new wholesale prices has been prepared and that it is proposed that they be introduced as of 1991. But, without waiting for new wholesale prices, accounting prices have now been increased 15 percent, and a certain increase will be made in 1990 with regard to the additional expenditure.

Many speakers spoke of the status of the strike committees. On the one hand, a proposal was made to preserve them and define their corresponding functions. But some people proposed preserving them until the new local soviet elections, because, in their opinion, the former corps of deputies is not able to take on full concern for the miners. Proposals were also made to the effect that it is more expedient to combine the strike committees' functions with labor collective councils, and examples were cited where many leaders of strike committees who have shown themselves in a positive light when defending the interests of the working class enjoy its support and respect. Many of them have been elected to trade union committees, and some have joined labor collective councils. Speaker Yu.A. Boldyrev submitted an appeal on the status of the strike committees which was agreed with representatives of strike committees in other regions, and agreement was reached on a meeting with representatives of the government to examine these proposals.

The question of the recently adopted law governing strikes was also raised at the conference. On the basis of this law, juridical organs have already deemed the Vorkuta miners' strike to be illegal. In this connection K.G. Fisenko ("Artemugol") raised the question that all must be equal before the law. The law states, for example, that if demands are not satisfied, then an arbitration commission is set up and the essence of the question must be examined within 7 days. But we have sent in our complaints and time is passing, but an arbitration commission has not been set up and we have not been given an intelligible answer.

S.F. Shcherbakov, first secretary of Mezhdurechensk party city committee, touched on a number of important questions in his speech. We were the first in the country to begin the strike, he said. Four months have elapsed since then. There are results, but they still cannot be deemed satisfactory. He went on to say that enterprises' independence is still purely formal. It essentially does not exist in some places. He spoke very negatively of taxation on wages and profits.

"As regards the Vorkuta miners' strike," he said, "in general we are against strikes, and we do everything to prevent them. We support the Vorkuta miners in their demands. But we must put an end to strikes. Otherwise we will shake our economy in such a way that we will end up in an empty sack. For example, we recently declared a warning strike and gave advance notice of it, but we organized the matter in such a way that the target was overfulfilled on that day." V.P. Chalkov of the "Vostsibugol" Association also expressed a similar attitude toward strikes.

"The working people of our mining collectives gave a positive welcome to the strike and the miners' demands. But we do not strike. We have formulated our demands and sent them to the ministry, to the Supreme Soviet. And we will keep an eye on their fulfillment, just like the striking collectives. We are full of hope that soviet power and the government will probe our problems and adopt the appropriate decision. A request to all miners: A search is now on for an effective solution to the problems that have accumulated over many, many years. You will not resolve them at once. Therefore, I consider strikes an antipeople thing, since we suffer terrible losses as a result and paralyze subcontractors."

USSR People's Deputy T.G. Avaliani, chairman of the Kuzbass Worker Committees Council, spoke in detail about the unsatisfactory fulfillment of the resolution and about accelerating the granting of real independence to enterprises and the region. "We are unjustly rebuked both in Belorussia and in the Baltic region," he said, "with the fact that the Kuzbass has received supplies, while things have gotten worse there. In actual fact, we have worse supplies than last year. We have to provide goods in return for the funds we have been given, but resources are being received in an extremely unsatisfactory way."

In the opinion of USSR People's Deputy Yu.Ye. Burykh from Gorlovka, the progress in fulfilling resolution No. 608 must be assessed from a new standpoint. For many good Central Committee and government resolutions were adopted even before perestroyka, but they were not fulfilled. The apparatus had grown accustomed to that. Therefore, if you approach this resolution from the old standpoint, it is being fulfilled in a lively way—but in the opinion of worker collectives, slowly. A.V. Fomin from Voroshilovgrad Oblast and P.A. Vypasnyan from Yakutia consider it expedient to conduct an attentive analysis of the progress in fulfilling this resolution, and, mindful of the fact that it was prepared in haste and that

in some places the deadlines were plainly unrealistic, to make certain corrections and amplifications, perhaps to defer certain deadlines and amplify certain points or even add new ones. But people must be told honestly what among this is at present unrealistic. People must not be deceived, the miners will understand. It is necessary to rule out grounds for conflicts.

The question of the election of leaders of enterprises and subdepartments was also raised at the conference. It was pointed out that there are also negative aspects to this process. In the opinion of A.V. Oreshkin, general director of the "Vorkutaugol" Production Association, the leaders at an enterprise should be appointed, since the election of foremen and chiefs of shops and other subdepartments impairs discipline. V.A. Grebenyuk, member of the Donetsk Strike Committee, proposed shifting the center of gravity in this matter to control over promotion of the leading cadres reserve, by taking the necessary measures to train and educate them.

There were many complaints against railroad transport. Railways Minister N.S. Konarev provided information on the situation that has taken shape there and answered questions from the conference participants. Mindful of the fact that the situation regarding the unloading of cars is exceptionally unsatisfactory, the minister proposed adapting the work of spur stations and unloading areas to the work of railroad transport so as to ensure that unloading takes place around the clock, including Saturday and Sunday.

A.V. Oreshkin expressed a wish that workers be more vigilant, since various kinds of extremists frequently attach themselves to their movement in order to use it for their own purposes. Things are "hot" enough for us without them. A. Krivolapov from Donetsk also spoke of the same thing.

Concluding the conference, N.I. Ryzhkov said:

"In my opinion, following today's conference we must set up in the next few days a plenipotentiary commission or teams, region by region, that will keep an eye on the progress in really fulfilling resolution No. 608. These teams will include representatives of the worker collectives of all the country's coal basins. They must be endowed with powers such that they can really first monitor the fulfillment of the set targets, and second, make appropriate adjustments where necessary. They must be permanently functioning teams. Locally—in the Kuzbass, for example—the team members must be in direct contact with the miners. Then there will be no misunderstandings, which arise because of a lack of glasnost. The commissions in the regions must work under normal conditions, and it is necessary to rule out pressure on them by means of strikes. And this will be done. I would ask you, comrades, on dispersing to the provinces, to tell the people: Yes, we spoke about the matter and leveled complaints at each other, and there are many complex questions that cannot be resolved in a single hour, but let us give an undertaking that we will work and resolve questions in a businesslike way and seek agreement through dialogue, while striking means merely exacerbating the situation and leading it into an impasse. Give the government an opportunity to work confidently and resolve urgent questions in a considered manner, on a healthy, constructive basis."

The speakers at the conference spoke of the politicization of the working class movement. This is a separate question, N.I. Ryzhkov said in this regard, but it must be touched on if we have agreed that ours is a frank discussion, regardless of posts and ranks. I want to share this thought with you frankly: Do you not think that certain groups are using you for mercenary purposes that are alien to you? They are people who argue: The worse things are in the state, the better it is and the more chance they have of asserting their political ambitions. They are counting on destabilizing society and seizing power by disrupting the normal rhythm of life, and using the strength of the working-class movement as a lever, as a tool. You must realize this, in order not to become a tool of political extremists.

Cooperative members V.A. Tikhonov and A.M. Tarasov traveled to you in Vorkuta. I read very attentively the speech of Comrade Tikhonov, president of the USSR Union of United Cooperatives. I believed that the leaders of the cooperative movement were traveling to the coal region to help the city folk with fruit, vegetables, and consumer goods. It is for this that cooperatives have been reconstituted—to help the state sector. But there was no question of helping with goods. The cooperative members' leaders said: You are fighting the government and are right to do so. Is this really the business of cooperative members? They must mind their own business. I was amazed when they were almost borne shoulder-high in Vorkuta. I speak of all this so that you will realize who really seeks to help the working class and resolve your regions' urgent problems, and who is trying to use you.

The meeting participants pointed to the importance and usefulness of the dialogue that had taken place, as a result of which an action program was drawn up. It was deemed expedient to amplify individual points of resolution No. 608 and, where necessary, to make amendments to it. A decision was adopted to change the existing system of monitoring the fulfillment of mutual pledges and to elaborate in greater depth certain points of this resolution with due regard for the overall changes stemming from the radical economic reform. Mindful of the importance of the problems raised by the miners, it is planned to examine them in the very near future at a session of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium, devoting special attention to the priority tasks stemming from resolution No. 608 and to the enhancement of personal responsibility for the fulfillment of all assignments given.

"Despite the fact that today's discussion has been complex and difficult for me," N.I. Ryzhkov said in conclusion, "I believe that there was a great need for it. This

exchange of opinions will enable me to better know the state of affairs and, most importantly, to outline ways to improve the situation in the coal sector and accelerate fulfillment of the decisions on which we have agreed. I wish to thank you for such a constructive discussion, and I hope that you and I will continue working amicably and resolving common tasks."

The conference participants continued their work 18 November on resolving specific questions of coal industry enterprises with deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers and at the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and other ministries and departments.

Members of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium, USSR people's deputies, leaders of a number of ministries, departments, and local organs of power, and directors of mines and associations participated in the meeting with miners.

Ryzhkov Calls Talks 'Difficult'

LD1711234289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A meeting took place at the Kremlin today between Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of USSR Council of Ministers, and representatives of miners' collectives and strike committees from virtually all coal mining regions of the country. The Vorkuta strike has become one more serious trial for the whole country—a test of the effectiveness of the established administrative structures. In the course of the meeting there was discussion of the well-known decision Number 608 of the USSR Council of Ministers. After the conference, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov granted an interview to our reporter.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified Reporter] Now, judging by the speeches, Nikolay Ivanovich, the miners are unhappy with the way decision No 608 is being implemented. Does this not indicate that it was adopted in too much of a hurry and that such documents need to be treated with greater caution?

[Ryzhkov] Today's conference or meeting with the miners has been fairly intense. I realize that many regions are dissatisfied with various matters and the way various problems are being resolved. It is also my opinion that evidently in the haste with which decision 608 was adopted certain questions were not studied in any depth. It was just not possible in 1 week or 10 days to study the questions in depth, and so one gets the impression that some problems have been solved superficially or forced into an unrealistic timescale. Therefore, I think that in the future we are going to have to take a more cautious approach in solving problems of this kind. You saw that today at the end of our meeting we said that this decision has to be looked at again closely but that it has to be looked at calmly and judiciously, without any of this pressure, if one can put it like that.

By the way, today many of the speakers said—and this is interesting—we support Vorkuta, the miners of Vorkuta, but we are against strikes, that strikes are an extreme method, and we are against them, but that the demands are right. The Vorkuta miners who spoke said they were provoked by the government. I also felt a certain healthy mood among most of the miners. While raising specific issues—as you see, the noise is still unabated—they realize at the same time that this is not the time to strike, that winter is upon us, that the economic situation is very strained, and they, as I understand it, feel some concern about what could happen. At the same time, they have a good deal of solidarity. They consider that the Vorkuta problem must be settled, that after all a way must be found to bring the Vorkuta strike to an end, but said it was provoked by the government. I think that is an extreme judgment. Nothing of the sort has happened. I told them today that in fact the discontent in Vorkuta began exactly 2 months after the decision was passed. So evidently a great many problems have accumulated there which must be solved, but there are some very complex questions that relate not just to vorkuta. They relate to all the regions of the far north, and they cannot be solved in isolation from the solutions in Kamchatka, Norilsk, etc. Those were the views expressed. Our task seems to be, really, to find common ground with the Vorkuta miners. We will now meet with them.

Another thing that was said today is that we need stability, we need calm to give the government a chance to solve the questions that were adopted, those that demand a solution. That was also emphasized and spoken about at the meeting today. I think that by and large that is the voice of reason. Indeed, unlike the events of the summer, today the comrades have been saying more about the fact that, if problems are to be solved, if the social problems that exist are to be solved, we do have to have stability and normal development of the economy, and that therefore to throw a whole industry into a fever is the wrong way to go about it. This is a basic industry, basically the whole life and work of the national economy depends on it. The life of the people as well. So in that respect I have to say that the men are taking a fairly balanced approach.

[Reporter] Nikolay Ivanovich, there are hundreds of thousands of miners and ordinary Soviet viewers watching us now. They are waiting to see how today's conference will end. In our view, how has it ended? It has been difficult, very difficult and complicated. At times feelings have run high and, I would even say, gone overboard. But by the end it all somehow went right.

[Ryzhkov] Well, I repeat that the discussion was difficult, tough. It was difficult for me too, as chairman of the Council of Ministers, because ultimately everything is focused in this direction: That this or that question is not being satisfactorily resolved. In the end, by the end of our meeting, I think nevertheless that we found a

common understanding, that what we have to do today is to get the situation in the country stable, and once again create special groups of people who can look in detail at the way decision 608 is being carried out in each region. It may be that certain adjustments will have to be made. It may be that in places certain points will have to be modified. Practically all the regions—coal-producing regions—agreed with this. I think our task in the days to come will be to form such groups of highly- qualified specialists to solve these questions, because that method of monitoring this decision does not seem to be very effective. One person is simply not able to cover all the coal regions and cope with problems with so many aspects, so I think that, organizationally, we have found a solution.

As far as the particular questions are concerned, they are numerous. Tomorrow the comrades will remain here, and they will be having meetings in the ministries and the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers will be dealing with individual issues. Each of them has brought his troubles and his problems. Of course, out of all the problems that have been aired some sort of general impressions and general conclusions take shape, on which the government has to make decisions. I think this meeting has been very helpful to us, too. I think that we have established a certain contact with these comrades, even though some of them have not minced their words.

[Reporter] Thank you, I wish you success.

[Ryzhkov] Thank you. [end recording]

Miners' Leaders 'Satisfied With Results'

LD2011175189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1640 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 20 Nov (TASS)—Representatives of the strike committees of the coal regions of the Soviet Union are satisfied with the results of the meeting on Friday with Nikolay Ryzhkov, the head of the government. They spoke about this at a press conference here today.

Representatives of the miners' collectives reported that at the present moment, nine of the thirteen striking pits in Vorkuta (northern Russia) have resumed working. They expressed confidence that the other pits would also halt the strike.

According to information quoted by Lev Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Mikhail Shchadov, minister of the coal industry, in 1989 losses in the industry as a result of strikes amounted to about 9,000,000 tonnes of coal, including 2,000,000 tonnes of coking coal. The government representatives described the situation in the industry as complex, at the same time expressing confidence that the situation will improve and that "the miners will not allow the country to freeze."

Mikhail Shchadov reported that as a result of the meeting agreement has been reached on a number of the demands put forward by participants in the strikes in Vorkuta. Among other things, the miners will retain the northern increments to their wages when switching to other regions of the country, and the regulation on discipline in the coal industry which deprived those dismissed of the opportunity to protest their dismissal has been abolished.

Lev Ryabev and Mikhail Shchadov also reported that, even though the Komi ASSR Supreme Court has declared the Vorkuta strike illegal, not a single striker has been prosecuted. In their turn, the spokesmen for the strike committees expressed disagreement with the court's decision.

Both sides voiced satisfaction over the fact that special commissions comprising representatives of the government and workers are to be set up in the country's coalmining regions to monitor the fulfilment of Decision No. 608. As is known, this government document was adopted in the summer and provided for the most important demands of the striking miners to be met.

Lev Ryabev said that, at their meeting with Nikolay Ryzhkov, the miners' representatives did not lay down the political demands that were voiced during the Vorkuta strike.

Both the representatives of the government and the members of the strike committees who spoke at the press conference, remarked that at the present time a difficult process of searching for solutions capable of satisfying the interests of both sides is underway.

Meeting: 'Trial for the Country'

PM1711205189

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 November 1989 Morning Edition carries on page 1 a 7-inch by 5-inch photograph showing N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, resting his elbows on a waste-high partition and appearing to listen to three seated persons. The photograph is captioned "During N.I. Ryzhkov's meeting with miners." An unattributed report beneath it, headlined "Meeting in the Government With Coalminers' Representatives," reads:

"IZVESITYA's photojournalist Yu. Inyakin took this photograph at the Kremlin, in the morning on 17 November, during the meeting between N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and representatives of coalminers' collectives from virtually all coalfields in the country and their strike committees. Even though the conference might appear rather narrow in scope, it would be no exaggeration to say that universal attention was focused on it and its outcome. One can understand why. Because Vorkuta today, whether we like it or not, has become one more serious trial for the country. A trial of the efficiency of prevailing management structures. Of the conscientiousness and responsibility of working people, of their determination to uphold their rights, and at the same time of their ability to reach a sensible compromise whenever necessary. A

trial for the government, a trial of its ability to implement the decisions it makes. A trial of its authority.

"To put it briefly, a lot today depends on this conflict, which is far from being a local one. This is why everyone who wishes success for perestroyka waits and hopes that the participants in the conversation in the Kremlin will find a common language. It is obvious that there is no room for any glossing in this conversation—miners are no diplomats. Nonetheless, let constructive principles and responsibility, which we all need so badly today, ultimately prevail."

Opposing Viewpoints Mark Vorkuta Strike Meeting

PM2011194589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Own correspondent G. Sazonov report: "At Vorkuta's Mines"]

[Text] Vorkuta (Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic), 20 Nov—Many people had hoped that the start of the dialogue between the miners and the government would produce a sensible assessment of their actions and result in an end to the strike. That was how the top-level meeting was seen at the "Severnaya" Pit.

However, opposition remains solid at a number of coal enterprises. And in some areas it has hardened.

It was these diametrically opposed points of view—calling off the strike or continuing it—that determined the atmosphere at the city conference of enterprise strike committees. Representatives of the "Vorgashorskaya" Pit called for the strike to be continued for another 10 days, until the government submits the relevant documents. It was supported by most of those present, and a resolution was adopted not to recommend a return to work by labor collectives. However, representatives of three pits categorically advocated calling off the strike—their collectives are fully back at work. Unfortunately, the voices of reason from the rostrum did not meet with the proper understanding. In particular, Yu. Poletskiy, a member of the strike committee at the "Yun-Yaga" Pit, compared the current strike to using a sledgehammer to crack a nut. While approving the strikers' aims on the whole, he condemned their methods of attaining them. Statements were made at the conference that the leaders of the city strike committee had become isolated from the working environment.

But the miners' attitudes are constantly changing. Over the past 24 hours 9 out of 13 pits have been working. Some 31,000 tonnes of coal have been mined, which is just less than half of the daily target.

Politicization of Vorkuta Pit Strikes Decried

PM2011191989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent Viktor Filippov report under the rubric "Direct Line": "The More Emotion, the Less Reason"]

[Text] Vorkuta—Five of the thirteen mines in the "Vorkutaugol" Association are continuing their strike action. They are the "Vorgashorskaya," "Khalmer-Yu," "Oktyabrskaya," "Yur-Shor," and "Promyshlennaya." The miners now have new claims against the government. Firstly, they are demanding to see documents confirming that their demands have been met; secondly, they are demanding that the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Court decision making strike action illegal be rescinded.

On Monday morning I had a meeting with A. Tsurupa, the economics director of the association.

"We owe suppliers approximately R3 million for new equipment," he said. "And consumers have presented us with R3 million in fines. This is only the beginning. How are we to find the money to pay this? Losses from the strike action have reached R22 million. The economic incentive fund is melting away. There is not actually going to be a 13th [additional monthly] wage packet this year."

"Is there no chance that things can somehow be put right?"

"If all strike action were to end today and we worked every Sunday from now until the end of the year, we would be able to pay some of the fines and, most important of all, create a coal reserve at the depots. They are empty at present. But the polar nights and snowstorms are just around the corner. To begin the new year without reserves would mean beginning it by breaking our supply contracts. And that would mean new fines and all that that entails."

Normalization of the situation in Vorkuta is being opposed increasingly persistently—particularly after the meeting between mining representatives and the government—by forces which want to impart global political overtones to the economic conflict at the mines. V. Ivanov, one of the leaders of the Russian People's Front, has approached the miners. He expressed approval of the strike and urged the miners to join his organization. Then, handwritten leaflets from some trade union calling itself "Independence," which pledged to instruct the miners, appeared at the mines. On 17 November, at the strike committee of the "Vorgashorskaya" mine, which is now the center of the strike movement, I met a representative of another strange organization, the coordination council of socialist trade unions: "I have come to get a grasp of the situation," was the mysterious explanation given by L. Volovik for the purpose of his visit. At this point S. Kozlov, deputy chairman of the mine's strike committee, called from Moscow, where he

had gone to take part in a meeting with the government, and L. Volovik began instructing him on what to do next.

A worrying coincidence: Emissaries of informal organizations only have to increase their visits to Vorkuta for the city to begin buzzing with strange rumors and actions. Here are the latest facts. Votes are being collected at the "Vorgashorskaya" in favor of setting up a trade union "free of the diktat of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the party." Miners from this and several other mines organized a march along the central street to the city party committee as a mark of protest against the proceedings against the strike committees. At the "Yur-Shor" mine, four miners have announced they are going on hunger strike for this very reason.

A rumor is making the rounds that the accounts of the city worker (strike) committee have been seized, together with the savings bank books of striking miners, and that the latter are now being prosecuted. It was not difficult to establish that this is a lie. But there is already uproar. The more emotion, the less reason, and continued strike action can only damage the workers movement.

Pechora Coal Basin Situation Discussed

LD2011221589 Moscow TASS in English 2154 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Vorkuta, Komi Autonomous Republic November 21 TASS—Many collectives of Vorkuta miners have not adhered to the decision to continue the strike that was adopted on Saturday by the city conference of strike committees and mines' representatives.

A TASS correspondent learned at the Vorkutaugol amalgamation that only three of the 13 mines in Vorkuta were not conducting mining operations on Monday and two of the mines were not shipping coal to customers. The other striking collectives resumed work.

Adopting by a majority of votes the decision to continue the strike, the conference of strike committees and mines' representatives advanced two conditions for calling off the strike. The first condition is reception by Vorkuta miners of official documents on the solution of the problems they posed to the country's government.

This means continued payment of bonuses for work in Arctic conditions to workers who are dismissed and change places of employment, the punishment of those responsible for failing to meet the schedule of the implementation of a number of provisions of the USSR Council of Ministers' Resolution 608 and those who are to blame for insufficient information of miners about the pace of the resolution's implementation. These demands also include the recognition of the status of a workers' committee.

The second condition for calling off the strike is the abrogation of the decision of the Supreme Court of the Komi Autonomous Republic which recognised the current strike of Vorkuta miners as illegal and satisfied suits for damages of the administration of a number of mines to strike committees and other organisers of the strike and imposed fines.

But most miners' collectives, including those that support the demand for the abrogation of the court decisions, believe that the continuation of the strike leads into an impasse.

Following a business meeting on November 17 with chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov, they resumed work and intend to decide urgent social and economic problems without resorting to the extreme measure, a strike.

But there is a different opinion, that it is necessary to press for the granting of the miners' demands by continuing the strike. The strike committee of the Vorgashorskaya mine, the biggest one in the Pechora coal basin, which is on strike from October 25 is particularly insistent.

Kuzbass Working People's Union Set Up

PM2011192989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondents Petr Voroshilov and Aleksandr Solovyev report under the rubric "Direct Line": "Union of Kuzbass Working People Formed"]

[Text] Novokuznetsk—A conference of workers committees of Kemerovo Oblast has been in progress here for 2 days: It has announced the formation of a new sociopolitical organization—the Union of Kuzbass Working People.

Representatives of the Donbass, Karaganda, Vorkuta, and Inta took part in the conference.

The conference spoke in favor of strengthening the unity of the workers movement, speeding up restructuring processes, and promoting closer cooperation among labor collectives. The new union will pursue its activity in line with the USSR Constitution.

Delegates discussed and deemed unsatisfactory the implementation of the protocol signed by the government commission after the July miners' strike. Delegates spoke in favor of a 24-hour strike of solidarity with the Vorkuta miners.

The union's policy statement and statutes were approved. An editorial commission has been instructed to put the finishing touches to these documents.

A considerable number of delegates left the hall in protest against the union being declared a sociopolitical organization rather than a social one. Some of the resolutions, including the "Appeal to the Kuzbass

Working People," were adopted by the simple majority of those remaining in the hall and there was no counting of votes.

Those invited to the conference included party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol workers, Soviet and foreign journalists, and leaders of informal organizations.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Decision on 'Annexation'

AU1411191489 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] According to TASS, the Estonian Supreme Soviet session adopted, with a majority of votes, a decision which qualifies the foreign policy actions taken by the Soviet leadership in 1939-1940 as a military occupation and annexation of the Estonian Republic. The document casts doubts on the legality of the elections to the State Duma held on 14-15 July 1940. The decisions adopted by the respective duma concerning the modification of Estonia's statute and the incorporation of that republic within the Soviet Union were considered illegal. The conclusions drawn by the special commission set up to investigate this issue, TASS says, were judged in a differentiated manner by the deputies, some of whom said that an objective and truthful assessment of those events can only be made after a union-wide analysis of the German-Soviet nonaggression pact signed in August 1939. Submitted to a vote, this proposal was rejected and 46 deputies left the hall in protest.

According to TASS, the decision of the Estonian Supreme Soviet on the illegality of Estonia's incorporation in the USSR in 1940 does not amount to a declaration of withdrawal by this Baltic republic from the Soviet federation; however, it modifies the relations between the republic and center, said Mikk Titma, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, at a meeting with Finnish journalists.

Brazauskas Comments on Meeting With Politburo

LD1811014189 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] It's good for Lithuania and I think it's good for the Lithuanian Communist Party. This is a brief assessment of yesterday's Politburo sitting of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee given by Algirdas Brazauskas in his traditional interview to the Lithuanian Radio.

Let me remind the listeners that the full Central Committee Bureau of the Lithuanian Communist Party was summoned yesterday to Moscow.

Algirdas Brazauskas described the fact as an extraordinary event and said that both after the bitter words were addressed to the leadership of Lithuanian communists. [as heard]

Tensions that built up at the beginning gradually dissolved and then a partner-like dialogue followed. The basic issue discussed was an extraordinary congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

The Bureau members had first and foremost to explain (?cause) for convening the congress, why the Lithuanian Communist Party seeks the status of an independent party, how sovereignty is understood in Lithuania and what are the components of statehood.

Algirdas Brazauskas said in his radio interview that after the question had been answered the Politburo got a better understanding, since until recently the Politburo members had only official information on the situation in Lithuania and its communist party.

Relations with the center have recently changed for the better, said Algirdas Brazauskas, so there are no more instructions on what to discuss and no interference into personnel policy. Therefore sovereignty is acquiring a practical meaning, while juridical legalisation of independent statehood is still lagging behind.

The Politburo sitting emphasized the importance of the goal common to the whole Soviet Union, that is perestroyka. Towards the end of the sitting Mikhail Gorbachev acknowledged that tactical differences in between basic strategic aims may occur. And one more interesting detail—at the Politburo Algirdas Brazauskas was asked if he did not think he granted interviews to foreign journalists too often. The Lithuanian leader replied he intended to cut down the number of interviews with foreigners as the latter are too fond of forecasting and would like to know the outcome of the congress right away.

Lithuanian Deputies Walk Out of Supreme Soviet

LD2011235489 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] The Soviet Union's People's Deputies for Lithuania hope that the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will yet discuss the draft law on the economic self-dependence of the three Baltic Republics. As is known, this item was placed further and further on the session's agenda, until it disappeared altogether.

This week the session in Moscow ought to conclude its work and when the week's agenda was made public at the morning sitting today it did not contain the issue again. As the MP Egidijus Bickauskas has informed us from Moscow over the phone, when our deputies asked to include the issue in the agenda, Deputy President Anatoliy Lukyanov tried to explain that the issue would be included. Knowing, however, the value of such promises and the center's endeavors to squeeze the economic self-dependence of the Baltic republics into the framework of the common economic principles of the Soviet Union, which are unacceptable to the Baltic republics, the MP's for Lithuania staged a walk out and did not take part in the debates on the draft law on the general economic principles.

The Lithuanian MP's were joined in the walk out by some of the MP's for Estonia and Latvia and by some deputies of the Inter-Regional Group.

This action has yielded results. In the afternnon the draft law proposed by the Baltic republics was distributed among the deputies and relevant commissions and committees were commissioned to urgently submit their conclusions on the draft and to prepare it for the second reading.

It is also reported from Moscow that Mikhail Gorbachev has assured the Lithuanian Party leader, Algirdas Brazauskas, that the issue will be debated later this week.

Need For National Unity Stressed

LD2011143389 Vilnius LITERATURA IR MENAS in Lithuanian No 45, 4 Nov 89 p 4

[Article by Alfredas Guscius, entitled "Let Us Not Renounce Ourselves."]

[Excerpts] I shall attempt to discuss here the course mentioned by A. Brazauskas by examining both sides, the left as well as the right. To be more specific, I would like to examine in greater detail the never obsolete and always topical subject of national unity... [passage omitted] Undoubtedly, we are in need of greater harmony and more cultural interaction. We are in need of these and, I think, this—brighter and peaceful—time will come. Currently, however, a basic reappraisal of political, social, moral, and aesthetic values, that were dominant over a period of many years, is taking place. That is—a complicated and often painful process that touches not only the public but also the individual person's "zone of interest," his existence, the quality of his life, his intellect, and his heart.

Many thinking individuals are experiencing inner drama. It becomes deeper in proportion to the creative greatness of the individual experiencing it. [passage omitted]

The Total Inspector has arrived... with restructuring and has entered the areas of art and literature. There is nowhere to hide from him! It behooves us to agree with his demands and to take a new look at novels, stories, essays, poems, and verses written in accordance with the extolled principles of socialist realism. An aura that has been attached undeservedly, is currently being removed from many postwar writings, as well as from those, that have been written in the not-too-distant past. That, moreover, does not simply comprise "Poems About Stalin" by Salomeja Neris. It is necessary to live through all of this total revision and to simply suffer it through. Nothing can be done—such are the times. [passage omitted]

Thus, an inner creativity barrier is a stronger enemy by far than an external one. Thus, in this respect neither Sajudis nor other bogeymen are to blame since the greatest bogeyman exists inside of us. Sajudis is not... Landsbergis, not Ozolas, not Vaisvila, not Antanavicius... Sajudis is not the Seimas and not its Council. Sajudis is the mature desire of the entire nation to be spiritually reborn and to rise up from social and national oppression. Sajudis is all of us who have experienced the need to tranform the words "democracy," "freedom," "equality," "independence," and "justice," that have been floating above constitutions and our heads, like empty soap bubbles,—into a concept containing real juridical and humanistic resources.

Here then, in my estimation, lies the red line dividing us into those in favor of Sajudis, those opposed to Sajudis, and those undecided. During times of national ethical decisionmaking the positions of the population's citizens have always developed in this fashion. This did happen several times in the course of history and it is happening currently... [passage omitted] I support V. Petkevicius' invitation to unite, although I do not think the Great Reconciliation will arrive by itself all of a sudden. No! We must seek objective truth and eradicate... the white, grey, black, and all other ugly spots and must clarify our position on the current national path with an awareness of why we are moving on this and not the other side of the turnpike.

The question—whose side are you on, comrade?—needs to be raised. However, it should not be forgotten that reckoning as well as the measure of an individual's political worth currently rests on a different level than say in 1947 or later... My mother's father and brother were shot to death in 1941 by Germans (or maybe by the "white armbands," I never did find out by whom). I also know that my "ancestor" was a tradesman who harbored Bolshevik sympathies and that during the postwar period my mother experienced enough suffering at the hands of the "forest brothers." What course of action should I follow currently, after having evaluated these subjective factors?

To turn away from Sajudis? No! First of all I am assessing the objective truth. It is as follows: if there had been no Hitler-Stalin Pact in 1939, deportations and repressions in 1941 and later, and forced collectivization during the postwar period, no fratricidal killing, terror, and emotional excesses would have taken place. Weren't these the political causes that brought about the prewar as well as the postwar confusion and conflicts in Lithuania? The roots of our current strife are still clinging to those terrible times. Because of this, it is imperative to pull out the roots of historical evil and to lay down clean, steady foundations for the construction of a new Lithuania prior to beginning to propagate a zero national reconciliation variant. Alas, just as we have begun decisive action on the task of restructuring, the Might Center has blocked our way, once more, just as it did in 1940.

If J. Baltusis [author] or someone else were to ask me, just as the Supreme Soviet chairman had been asked—whose side are you on dear comrade? —I would reply: Although I am a CPSU member and yet one who had often demonstrated ultrarevolutionary tendencies in his

actions, today I firmly align myself with Sajudis. Why? You see I fear Lithuania might disappear in one of the layers of the cloak of...soviet internationalism. Indeed, the time has come for every communist to assume a principled stand and to act in a manner that will not incur him shame in front of future generations. However, if I as well as other Lithuanian communists were to act according to the conscience described in the sadly famed CPSU Central Committee Declaration on the Situation in the Soviet Baltic Republics, I am convinced there would be no need to hand down for future generations any baton of national values. There would be no one left to give it to! The Knights of the Sword destroyed Lithuania's kin, the Prussian nation, by force. Perhaps Hitler would have assimilated us by force and fast pace had he won the war. Perhaps. However, had not Stalin begun to destroy our nation? He set forth a similar genocidal policy, but he used the theory of "class struggle", "enemies of the people," and other bogeymen to shield himself under... Yet, how could one explain the fact that it was also after Stalin that national consciousness, national languages, and ethno-cultural values were disappearing in the Soviet Union? Moreover, all this has been taking place under the flag of internationalism (such soviet internationalism at times appears similar to a snake into whose jaws a frog is entering willingly in spite of fiercely screaming.)

"Thanks" to Soviet internationalism, the demographic situation of our northern neighbors, the Latvians and the Estonians, has become dramatic. Mechanical migration, draconic industrialization, rough ideologization, and our old neighbors have become a minority in their own native land. What about our southern neighbor Belorussia? National and historical [?mankurtism] is almost 90 percent strong: Speaking in the native tongue is already regarded as tactless and shameful behavior! Who has formulated such socio-psychological distortions of the loss of national consciousness? Do we see here, a voluntary choice of nationality, language, religion, and moral principles? Far from it. Behind the supposedly voluntary internationalism (but more exactly denationalization) is hidden the well-thought-out and deceptive Stalinist-Brezhnevist-Suslovist-Rashidovist mechanism of national policy. Currently we are partaking with disgust of the porridge that has been prepared by this mechanism. However, are we going to be able to eat it?

Viewing this in a dispassionate manner, we Lithuanians (I think other nations also) are not asking for very much—to live freely on our land, to breathe our air, and to speak the language of our forbears. Why is it that these inherent rights are causing concern and panic, not only at the Center but also locally? Doesn't this attest to how cleverly and pseudohumanely we have long been covered by the aura of internationalism?

We have started to almost voluntarily renounce our language, authentic citizenship, property, and... sensitive souls have painfully marked such a chronic suicide of the nation. When asked by critic L. Gadeikis—"What has to date been the most frightening and the heaviest experience of his life?," our talented writer R. Granauskas replied: "to wake in the night and to wonder in terror whether the grandson will yet be able to read what the grandfather had written in Lithuanian or not." (PERGALE No 6, 1989). Stalin baptized writers as "engineers of human souls." This label is basically correct in spite of the long since fallen reputation of its "creator." Indeed the basis, not the form, not the surface, and not the details are more important. We have been given lessons by history and time to such an extent that we are finally able to separate the chaff from the wheat, good intentions from bad actions, and grandiose theory from the practice that compromises it.

Sajudis Official Envisions Party Options

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[Article by Romualdas Ozolas (member Sajudis Seimas Council, editor ATGIMIMAS), entitled: "What The Communist Party Should Be Like," under the rubric "Viewpoint."]

[Text] The Communist Party is in the throes of a crisis.

It does not stem from the fact Lithuania's and the Soviet Union's political situations are marked by crisis, but rather from the existence of a worldwide orientation crisis. It is above all a crisis of—communist orientations.

We are already acquainted with the facts of the endless antihumanistic activities of the CPSU. New ones will continue to surface. If however we attempt to determine our relationship with the CPSU solely on their bases we will not be able to appraise it sufficiently well. For this reason I would like to view the communist party as a cultural phenomenon of Europe—formed by it, an expression of it and already undergoing changes along with current European and global realities.

Every idea is born, finds the subject of its expression and exists as—a living entity of some location—a larger or smaller area. The more fundamental an idea is the mightier, all-encompassing and longer-lasting influence it exerts.

Essentially Europe has changed its orientation twice. First, when a monotheistic idea was formed along Christian ideology lines. The second time—when a socio-monotype idea came into being and was expressed by the theory of communism.

The idea of communism sprang into being immediately, as soon as man cast his eyes down from heaven to earth and instead of preparing himself for the heavenly kingdom, began to crave to bring that kingdom down to earth. In truth human intellect was always aware of this idea. However, it used to exist in forms that were much too concrete and local. For the first time monotheism furnished the idea of communism with comprehensive

and universal possibilities —as many of these areas of existence were opened up by monotheism as communism could embody.

If we were to attempt to assess communist theory, not as antitheistic (hence the pretensions of atheism)—we would be condemned within positions of the outcome itself, by lacking success of clarification.

Monotheism evolved as an idea of absolute idealism—a reign of truth, beauty and goodness. This reign was created by God's will and overcame other, metaphysically less potent gods. This type of revolution, in heaven, even shook the earth—permitted the collapse of the Roman Empire and the remodeling of Europe's ethnic geography. What can be said of the embodiment of the monotype socium idea that demanded eradication of all reality incapable of conformance with that idea's idealism! Those unfit individuals (those in posession of their own will and intellect) had to perish, not just by the tens of thousands or by the millions, but by tens and hundreds of millions. Those destined to disappear from the face of the earth were not simply tribes and nations, but tens of nations, even including their states! Heavenly and idealistic socium has to date exacted more human blood than all the other cultural idols of Europe taken as a whole.

Who embraced the idea of monotheism? It was the individual from many races who had been offered up to Roman idlers who sought not just bread but shelter and a fatherland—a normal individual displaced by Rome. This is why God's Ten Commandments had been able to become the code of his existence and a home in heaven—his ideal. The classics, among the founders of ideal socium, set up the proletariat—individuals who had been sapped to the extent that they had no interests remaining except perhaps the naked instinct to live.

Is it any wonder the culture they were creating could only become consumer-oriented. The more aggressive it became, the more distinctly was the disinterest universalized into a so-called "class interest," the more the proletariat came into existence—as an expression of the tone of this interest, added to which was the increasing stubborness and organization of its propagandists, associations, organizations and parties. One other interesting circumstance is connected with this. The closer to modern times the more pronounced becomes the repressive tendency in idea dissemination: Christ's apostles are still about, proclaiming the possibility of salvation, the Jesuits and other orders are already trying to persuade, Marxist Communists—are agitating, while Lenin's Bolsheviks are already starving and shooting people to death. The notion of communism created on a basis of world revolution (that is an absolute manifestation of proletarian disinterest, as a "class interest") becomes the theory of communism. The creation of communism follows the assembling of the Bolshevik Party.

Could there have been any other means of creating communism? Yes there could have been. The brief fragment interval of the Paris Commune was sufficient for France. In Lithuania—a half century is already more than enough. Russia will apparently require the entire 20th Century. Even that may not suffice for Cambodia. Many of the world's nations will however have to weather this disease. Could the creation of communism have been more humane? Even if it could have been so much has been paid for this experiment that this quite seriously raises the question of the prudence of the very idea of communism.

Thus, perhaps one needs to return from where one has escaped? I think the answer is—yes! Only to return. There is no other way. If we wish to save ourselves, if we wish to live, in general (this is not our concern alone)—we must return as quickly as possible to that which we have stubbornly attempted to deny for such a long time: private property, competition, monetary relations, democracy, decency and faith.

Alas, no matter how sorry we may be we will not be able to regenerate these things to the way they had been: The world has already progressed far ahead in new norms and forms of human community. We too, although it may cause us a great deal of suffering and though we may wince from the memory of the "friendship" with other nations implanted upon us must admit that the current world demographic situation alone orients us toward new prospects in individual and international association and in the entire world existence. We shall see —how this new association will have to be expressed. Only it is obvious it will no longer be able to be based upon individual exceptions since it was after all from this romanticism of European consciousness that the "ubermensch" idea could have arisen and become concretely embodied in the shapes of Stalin, Hitler, Mao and others. The experience of the quest of inhuman humaness is especially adamant in spurring us not to fall prey again, to the European rationalized and Asiatic romanticised personality rage.

Will those in charge of missions, in search of new coexistence, be able to take charge of a renewed communist party? I don't think they should change the name of the party—its reality will remain even after the name is discarded: The Bolshevik reality will have a depressing effect on our actions and thoughts for a long time. Secondly, it is simply dishonorable to hide behind bushes by choosing a different name. What then could lend meaning to current communist parties that are trying to survive in good faith not just as political mannequins or tactical figures? What could truly validate their existence?

There exist several such possibilities:

1. If the communist party would regard communism not as a truth but only as a hypothesis and supposition.

2. If the created theory of coexistence will be regarded not as dogma but as theoretical reference points for exploring possible practical actions.

3. If success were attained in establishing a nation, not a class as a party subject.

4. If the party does not consider itself the sole public political force.

5. If a party member would be able to remain a free subject entailed to a realistically functioning freedom of his own thought and action.

6. If the party will be capable of comprehending that it is only a means of creating a state that remains obedient to it only insofar as it serves the public democracy individual who is in both their care.

Currently, not a single Communist Party has this within its grasp.

Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported

90UN0247A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 31 Oct 89 p 1

[RATAU report on proceedings of 11th Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet 10th Session proceedings: "In the Interests of the Development of Democracy and a Strengthening of Discipline and Order"]

[Excerpts] As already reported, the 11th Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet 10th Session ended on 28 October.

At the evening sitting on 27 October the session enacted by majority vote the Changes and Additions to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution (Basic Law) Act, the Elections of People's Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR Act and the Elections of Deputies of Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR Act.

Deputy V.V. Popov, a worker at the Kharkov Aviation Plant, took the floor to make a statement. Present here at the session with us, he said, is Comrade Kutsenko, people's deputy of the USSR. He has pinned to his tie the yellow and blue badge with trident and is brazenly showing it off here. I believe that this constitutes disrespect for our national flag and request that this comrade vacate our premises.

The deputies voted for N.A. Kutsenko to leave the hall.

The question of the elections of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR and deputies of the local soviets had been examined at the morning sitting. Following the speech of V.P. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, a decree on the appointment of the elections of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR and deputies of local soviets of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR was adopted. The elections were set for Sunday, 4 March 1990. The deputies also adopted a decree on the formation of the Central Election Commission for the elections of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR and a decree on proposals pertaining to the holding by way of experiment in certain local soviets of people's deputies of the republic of elections of deputies per territorial and industrial constituencies.

Deputy V.I. Shinkaruk, chairman of the working group for elaboration of the draft Ukrainian SSR Languages in the Ukrainian SSR Act, director of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Philosophy Institute and member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, then spoke. He reported the results of the study by the standing commissions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and Supreme Soviet Presidium of the proposals and observations submitted by the deputies during discussion of this project. A paragraph by paragraph vote was taken, during which the debate on individual issues continued. The Supreme Soviet passed the Ukrainian SSR Languages in the Ukrainian SSR Act and a resolution on the procedure of the commissioning of this act.

A report on the ratification of Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium edicts adopted since the last session was delivered by N.G. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The Supreme Soviet adopted the laws and resolutions on ratification of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium edicts.

In response to the inquiries of a number of deputies, Deputy V.A. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, notified the session of the measures being adopted by the republic government to speed up the removal of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station [AES] and improve the environmental situation in the republic.

Since the first days following the accident at the Chernobyl AES, he said, questions of the removal of its remains have constantly been at the center of the attention of the republic leadership. The main thing at which our activity has been directed has been ensuring the safety of the population in the zone of increased radiation contamination and also the population of the republic as a whole. And I would like here to recall the exploit accomplished by our firefighters. It was they, who at the cost of their lives prevented a catastrophe whose consequences are difficult to even imagine. Not only our people but all mankind should be grateful to them for this. I believe that the Supreme Soviet and the people's deputies of the USSR will support a proposal for the installation in Kiev of a memorial to the firefighter heroes so that not only we but subsequent generations also know and revere the names of those to whom they are obliged for their lives. And it is a matter of honor for our sculptors, artists and architects to fittingly portray their exploit.

The inhabitants of 72 localities totaling 92,000 persons altogether were evacuated in the first days following the accident from the zone with the highest levels of contamination. A set of scientific-technical, medical and other protective measures was implemented. With the enlistment of all oblasts of the republic almost 11,000

farmstead-type homes with outbuildings, 25 multi-apartment homes and 585 social amenities were built very quickly. A large number of artesian wells and approximately 600 km of roads with hard surface were commissioned. Some 350 km of distributing gas mains were laid, and more than 8 million square meters of ground were planted with trees and shrubs. This made it possible to reduce possible consequences of the accident to a considerable extent.

I wish to emphasize that all this work has been performed in accordance with the government decree and the program for elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES in the period ending 1990, which was drawn up back in 1987 and which has today practically been fulfilled. Total expenditure on these measures has been in excess of R2 billion. As much has been spent on the construction of the city of Slavutich.

No less important a task of the government and the leadership of the republic has been protection of the Dnepr River basin for the safe and dependable supply of water to a region in which 35 million people live. This work has been done. All cities and localities situated in the Dnepr River basin have been protected against possible contamination of the water.

At the same time the work performed in accordance with the recommendation of science on decontamination of the contaminated territory and also improvement measures are not producing the anticipated results in certain areas. For this reason the government this year adopted a decision on the additional removal of people from the most dangerous zones, which included 12 villages of Zhitomir Oblast's Narodichskiy Rayon and 2 off Kiev Oblast's Polesskiy Rayon. A union decree records the date of the move as 1993. But we plan to have completed this work by 1991. Some 368 families, including 220 with children, have already been resettled.

The development of a comprehensive program for elimination of the consequences of the accident for the 13th Five-Year Plan and the period ending the year 2000 has been completed in the republic. It provides, in particular, for further extended study of the situation and determination of the expediency of the further resettlement primarily of families with children, and also of citizens whose residence in these localities, including Narodichskiy and Polesskiy rayons, is not recommended on medical grounds. We will have made a determination on this by the end of the year.

In addition, the leadership of the republic has prepared and submitted to the union authorities a draft USSR Council of Ministers and All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions decree on additional measures to increase the health protection and improve the material situation of the population living in the contaminated areas. I believe that this decree will be adopted in the next few days. It makes a determination on a whole set of issues—resettlement, improvement of medical services, pensions and the benefits there will be for the persons living in this area.

And, finally, the last point. Were I to briefly formulate my personal position, it has amounted and continues now to amount to the assured safe activity of the population which came to be in the zone affected by the accident. I myself spent as of 2 May 3 weeks in Chernobyl and participated directly in the elimination of the accident in the most dangerous period. I have been to Kiev Oblast and the city of Slavutich several times since. So I know the situation not by hearsay and understand people's troubles and anxiety with my heart. But I have, indeed, not been to Narodichskiy Rayon. Inasmuch as the work on elimination of the consequences of the accident requires constant attention and supervision the republic leadership set up a permanent special commission headed by a deputy chairman, and the additional offices of deputy chairmen which are to handle these matters have been instituted in the Kiev and Zhitomir oblast soviet executive committees [oblispolkoms]. My deputies and other members of the government commission visit Kiev and Zhitomir oblasts, including Narodichskiy Rayon, regularly to study the questions which arise on the spot. They inform the government about everything in detail.

I wish to report that at the present time Dr V.N. Sarchuk has developed and had clinically approved here in our country and overseas a method of electropuncture diagnostics and non-pharmacological methods of treatment of various illnesses which is protected by inventor's certificate and patent. This method provides express information on the state of the organism's immune and hemogenic systems most affected by ionizing radiation.

The non-pharmacological method of treatment produces a good therapeutic effect when treating various illnesses. The government instructs the Ministry of Health to train on a voluntary basis a group of physicians of the city of Kiev and Kiev, Zhitomir and Rovno oblasts purposively for work with a group of the population subjected to various doses of radiation and their treatment.

V.A. Masol then replied to a number of questions from the deputies.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers chairman reported that, in accordance with the concept of the development of coal industry in the country as a whole, the Ministry of Coal Industry was providing for an increase in the amount of coal production in the eastern parts of the country and that coal production in our republic would diminish here. And in accordance with the energy program, proceeding from the need for a considerable improvement in the ecological situation in the republic and taking our demands into consideration also, the construction of AES had been limited. Power engineering is to be developed, in the main, thanks to thermal power plants. It is contemplated funneling the capital investments withdrawn thanks to the cutback in

the construction of AES here into an increase in the production of gas for its use in place of coal at thermal power plants and into the introduction in practice of resource-saving technology.

It was reported also that a special program for an increase in the manufacture of children's foods, including the construction of new plants in Kiev and in a number of other regions of the republic, was planned in the republic. It is geared over a period of several years. It is anticipated that the basic problems of an improvement in children's diet will have been resolved in 2 or 3 years.

A Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers decree on an increase in money for meals in all children's sanatoria was adopted this year. A decree was also adopted on an improvement in the diet of mothers in nursing homes. Resources will be found additionally for ensuring that children have a better diet and be better provided with sanatoriums and hospitals.

In connection with certain of the deputies' speeches concerning supplies of meat and milk to centralized stocks, V.A. Masol said, I have to observe that there will be no increase therein to union stocks next year but that they will diminish somewhat. And we intend using this quantity of products for an improvement in supplies to the population in the zones with an increased level of radiation contamination. The proposals of some deputies concerning a reduction for the oblasts in the amount of supplies of meat and milk to union-republic stocks are without due justification and do not merit support either. The situation concerning provision of the population with these products is undoubtedly difficult in the oblasts everywhere. However, there should be no seeking a reduction in supplies thereof to the union-republic stocks, proceeding merely from local difficulties and disregarding the interests of one's neighbor. After all, in the economic mechanism everything is linked in a single whole. Let us assume that some oblasts fail to supply meat to the miners of the Donbass, and Donetsk Oblast ceases supplies to these oblasts of coal, salt, vegetable oil and other products. What then? Nobody would come out the winner.

I believe, therefore, that a principal and urgent task for all of us should be not improvement of the distribution of the products but their increased production. This is the sole practical path and possibility of rectifying the situation. and for this reason we need to work better.

Some of the problems which arose in the process of elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES were broached in his speech by USSR People's Deputy G.I. Revenko, first secretary of the Kiev Oblast Party Committee [Obkom]. I support the comprehensive approach which is outlined by the governments of the three republics for elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, he said. At the same time I would request support and assistance on the following matters.

The situation is extremely aggravated today not with respect to the population's medical state or questions of the diet even but primarily with respect to the population's psychological and moral condition. Tension has grown appreciably. I would therefore request a comprehensive evaluation of people's state of health, regardless of the level of radiation, and assistance for them. This is a very important task.

Second, we subscribe to the proposal of a group of deputies concerning benefits for the persons participating in removal of the consequences of the accident and living in the contaminated zone. We know that it will be difficult getting these plans passed. We request the support of both the Supreme Soviet and the republic government.

Third, this zone's prospects. A kind of tug of war over whose zone this is has been going on for 3 years. I believe that the question of determination of the zone's status and who should administer it now brooks no delay. It is the viewpoint of the obkom and oblispolkom that it should be administered by radiologists and others and that they should be responsible for the state of the zone.

The fourth matter. We are somehow adopting a very constricted approach to the question of medical provision for the population. The shortage of medical equipment in Kiev Oblast today is simply shocking. There are only three or four mobile fluorographs for the entire oblast, and there is a shortage of conventional equipment and instruments. I believe that this question is paramount and that it needs to be solved immediately.

And the final matter. Even an earthquake cannot be compared with the Chernobyl disaster. An earthquake may in a few years be cured, but the latter, only after many years. This cannot, I believe, be considered a regional problem. It is a national and, perhaps, international problem. For this reason we believe that financing for the removal of the consequences of the accident should be earmarked separately in all official plans of the country, the republic and the oblast.

The session adopted a decree which says: to take note of the reply of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and charge the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers with the implementation of additional and urgent measures to speed up the removal of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

The floor was granted M.A. Orlik, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, to reply to an inquiry from a group of deputies. Comrades Luchaninova, Kisel, Semenyak, Bedunova, Yeremenko and Khristich, deputies of the republic Supreme Soviet, she said, have submitted an inquiry in connection with the adoption by the republic Council of Ministers this June of the decree "Measures To Support the Practice of Chargeable Theatrical and Concert Activity and the Organization of Touring Performances and Video Shows". What brought this document into being? Two factors. [passage omitted]

The second reason for the adoption of the Council of Ministers decree was the chargeable video show. Its organization, which is now handled beyond the supervision of the official authorities, is causing serious concern. The facts testify that the development of the cooperatives and the inordinate enthusiasm for commercial activity on the part of individual public organizations in the video business are leading to appreciable financial violations and harming the upbringing of the younger generation. It has been established that, following the issuance in December 1988 of the USSR Council of Ministers decree "Regulation of Certain Types of Cooperative Activity," which prohibits them renting and publicly showing video productions, many of them are continuing to do so under the cover of agreements with public organizations and various sponsors. Videos propagandizing morals which are alien to Soviet society, brutality, violence, pornography and racism are finding their way into video lounges and video halls. Video cassettes are being shown without the proper supervision on the part of the official authorities, which, lacking a common coordinating center, cannot keep account of the video lounges and video equipment in the republic. [passage omitted]

In connection with a telegram to the session from a group of Kiev residents concerning the location in the Feofaniya locale of new buildings of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Surface Chemistry Institute explanations were given by B.Ye. Paton, president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences. He reported that the construction of the Surface Chemistry Institute was provided for in the past by a special decree of the directive authorities of the country and the republic. The installation of its premises in Kiev was agreed with the appropriate authorities. The parcel of land for these buildings was allocated by a decision of the Kiev City Soviet of People's Deputies of 21 July 1986 precisely in the locale of Feofaniya. The construction of the institute's laboratory block was to have begun this year.

On the initiative of informal associations a number of independent appraisals confirming that the institute's activity would not entail pollution of the air and the environment has been conducted in recent months. And special measures do not need to be implemented for the functioning of this institute. That is, it cannot be considered that the Surface Chemistry Institute is an environmentally harmful establishment.

But considering the fact that study of the latest directions of biological science has been developed extensively in the Academy of Sciences in recent years, the academy has adopted a decision on the creation and construction on this plot of a new institute—of a biological profile. Research under the leadership of Yu.Yu. Gleba, member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, whose work has been commended by a USSR State Prize and is held in high regard overseas, will be conducted in the new institute in Feofaniya, where two biological institutes have been functioning for many years. For this reason the creation of a powerful complex of biological institutes, which in terms of the level of basic research and provision with the appropriate equipment will correspond to the best overseas centers of such a profile, will be completed there.

Considering what has been said and also numerous public appeals, the Academy of Sciences Presidium recently adopted the decision to build the Surface Chemistry Institute on other plots in the city of Kiev. Representatives of the population living around this area have been notified of this.

B.Ye. Paton read out a telegram addressed to the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and to him from the workforce of the Surface Chemistry Institute, which set forth a request for the formation of a group of deputies for the adoption of an objective decision on the institute's location and also submitted a proposal opposing the formation of a deputies' commission since the question of the transfer of the construction of the institute to other sites had already been decided.

M.A. Potebenko, first deputy prosecutor of the Ukrainian SSR, answered questions pertaining to the ending of the unlawful actions which occurred in Lvov on 1 October of this year. He reported that on this matter the procuracy of the city of Lvov had instituted criminal proceedings and that a group of skilled investigators were conducting investigations. For the sake of the objectivity of the investigations the republic procuracy had included in the group investigators of the procuracies of Voroshilovgrad, Khmelnitskiy and Rovno oblasts.

It was established in the process of the investigation that at approximately midday on 1 October during the celebrations devoted to the 50th anniversary of the reunification of the lands of Western Ukraine with Soviet Ukraine more than 300 extremist youth headed by Derkach, a leader of the so-called Independent Ukrainian Youth League, had assembled in the city of Lvov. They organized a theatrical march symbolizing the enslavement of the western regions of the Ukraine on the part of the USSR. In addition, a playlet discrediting Soviet symbols was performed.

While passing along the city's central street the group grew to 1,500 persons. Many of them were members of the Ukrainian Christian Union, the Lvov Society and the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The group headed toward the city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom] building, shouting out appeals of a nationalist content. Yellow and blue flags and banners were unfurled. Some extremist persons attempted to tear down the national flags of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR from the gorispolkom building and to hang the yellow and blue in their place.

At 2040 a group of 300 persons, prompted by provocative rumors concerning police officers' alleged unlawful detention of Ukrainian Christian Union activist Revt.

headed for the gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration building and blockaded it. Here it grew to 3,000 persons, among whom were those in a state of intoxication. Traffic was brought to a standstill. The participants in the group demanded that the police release Revt.

The Internal Affairs Administration leadership explained that he was not being held by the law enforcement authorities. It was proposed that representatives be chosen and that they check this for themselves. The police officers urged against disturbances and appealed for observance of legality. However, the crowd failed to respond to this. Extremists insulted the police officers, shoved them, jabbed their fingers in their faces and then, arming themselves with blunt instruments (cobblestones, sticks, steel reinforcements and so forth), began to beat up the police officers with them. Thirty-four police officers sustained bodily injuries, three of whom were hospitalized with injuries of medium seriousness. Four motor vehicles were damaged. National flags were torn down from the buildings of adjacent streets.

Inasmuch as aggressive citizens failed to respond to the police officers' appeals, the situation which had taken shape demanded that measures be taken to put an end to the disturbances. Special police forces of up to 250 men were rightly committed for this by the internal affairs authorities, and means of active protection—rubber nightsticks—were employed. At 2300 public order had been restored.

During the provocations and the quelling of the disturbances the offenders operated by hiding behind women in the crowd. Given the complex situation while order was being restored, light bodily injuries were sustained by 14 women, and 30 men were injured also.

Completion of the investigation is planned for the very near future. The delay in completing the investigation is explained by the need to establish the identities of all the persons involved in the disturbances. Following the investigation, the case will go to trial.

As far as the said circumstances are concerned, they are fully confirmed by the investigation material. Elements constituting a crime were not present in the actions of the police officers.

The mere fact of bodily injury being sustained by women is, of course, to be regretted, although under the situation which had taken shape there was a need for the use of means for active protection and the restoration of order and could not, therefore, in the specific situation have been excluded.

It is also to be regretted that, despite the public anger at the actions of the extremists and the demand for the measures to be applied in respect of them as provided for by the law, persistent assertiveness on the part of certain informal associations has been manifested precisely in defense of the offenders.

To ascertain the legitimacy of the police actions a USSR Supreme Soviet commission headed by V.K. Foteyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Glasnost and the Citizens' Rights and Appeals, went to Lvov also. The commission included USSR people's deputies Ya.Ya. Gil, A.A. Rynka and I.A. Vakarchuk. The commission noted the ambiguity and complexity of the situation which had taken shape in Lvov and expressed its clear opinion that the events of 1 October were characterized by the utmost fomenting of the situation by certain informal organizations and had ultimately led to an extremely unpleasant confrontation between the forces upholding law and order and the civilian population. Inasmuch as the situation had begun to slip out of control, there were grounds for the use of means of active protection. At the same time, that means of active protection were employed in respect of women was noted as a negative fact. The commission reached the firm conviction as to the need for those who were the organizers of the illegal march and the disturbances to be held to account.

USSR People's Deputy R.A. Bratun then spoke. On behalf of the "Zeleniy svit" environmental association he expressed gratitude to the people's deputies of the USSR and the deputies of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet for paying great attention to questions of the environment and for the fact that this question will be discussed at a coming session of the republic Supreme Soviet. He read out a telegram from the congress of the Ukrainian "Zeleniy Svit" Association.

On behalf of several USSR people's deputies R.A. Bratun voiced a protest in connection with the deprivation of Kutsenko of participation in the session. He also expressed unhappiness that, in his opinion, the investigation into the events which had occurred in Lvov on 1 October of this year was being dragged out.

Deputy A.T. Zonenko, editor of the newspaper PRAVDA UKRAINY, requested the floor on a point of information. Yesterday, he said, the accusation was heard in R.A. Bratun's speech against PRAVDA UKRAINY and PRAVDA to the effect that they had groundlessly raised the issue of a display of nationalism in Lvov. I shall not quote him, we all heard this statement. The Lvov man of letters' assertion is unfounded, to put it mildly. He adduced no arguments in confirmation. We have permitted no unsubstantiated articles on this question.

I will say for fairness' sake that recently both PRAVDA and PRAVDA UKRAINY have described the nationalist escapades of Ukrainian Christian Union elements attempting to destabilize the situation in Lvov. The law and order authorities have put a stop to their attempts. An investigation is now under way.

Comrade Bratun cannot fail to know this, I believe. Why, then, is he, an experienced man of letters, attempting to close his eyes to the actual situation in his

city? The truth always remains the truth. And however bitter, the correct conclusions need to be drawn from it.

Deputy M.V. Grishko, chairman of the Chernigov Oblispolkom, spoke. Each of us participants in the session, he said, may say today that our (sic) conscience is clear before the electorate, before the present and before the future. Although we are merely learning to work under the conditions of real democracy and pluralism, we did everything we could to ensure that the present session enact really democratic, well-considered and balanced laws. This was done not as the result of some pressure, not thanks to some alternatives but on the basis of consideration of the opinion of our electorate, on the basis of the free expression of the deputies themselves and their political maturity, tolerance and democratism.

Individual people's deputies of the USSR have submitted sound proposals, and everyone surely treats this with great respect. At the same time, however, I would like to declare with all candor that subsequently also we Supreme Soviet deputies from the Chernigov region and everyone here, perhaps, will not succumb to political Daltonism and will always be able to immediately distinguish yellow and blue colors from red, despite the outwardly most democratic appeals.

Ya.P. Pogrebyak, first secretary of the Lvov Obkom, asked to speak. He declared that he was categorically opposed to nationalism, which really is a destabilizing factor in the life of our republic and in the life of our country. We communists condemn this phenomenon, he said. It must not be. Elements from the ranks of members of the Ukrainian Christian Union, an organization which is in its thoughts and intentions hostile toward our socialist country, are indeed operating here. This organization is now being joined by the Independent Youth League. We are combating these phenomena. In this case we are being correctly criticized by both the central and Ukrainian press. This question must not be hushed up.

But it is nonetheless necessary to distinguish between this and national revival, which is now necessary and in which connection we have today passed the Languages Act, a national revival which is perceived positively by a majority of the Ukraine's population. I refer to the Ukrainian language, traditions and other questions of culture and history to which now, at the time of perestroyka, particular significance is attached. This needs to be distinguished from nationalism. We must not permit an indiscriminate approach. I believe that the press should criticize nationalism, and in this respect I support it fully. But when it writes about complex issues in various regions, in Western Ukraine specifically, it needs to be balanced and not to confuse organizations of a varying character.

We condemn the events which occurred in Lvov. We were conducting celebrations which were devoted to the 50th anniversary of reunification. The absolute majority of people had a sound grasp of this. Representatives of artistic groups of the whole of the Ukraine participated, and the celebration passed off well, on the whole. But there were destructive forces also. We made a strict evaluation of these phenomena. There were indeed clashes. The actions of the police were legitimate. But, nonetheless, we need to investigate individual issues to give people an answer concerning the negative phenomena which occurred. There is a difficult situation with us today, and we are distinguishing between the persons who are opposed to Soviet power and people to whom everything needs to be explained.

V.A. Ivashko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, took the floor. He said:

Dear Comrades! The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet session is drawing to a close. It will, I believe, be remembered by the Ukrainian people. Not only, naturally, for the emotions which have at times boiled up here. Although they are probably legitimate also because the session has to a certain extent reflected the views and mood which have taken shape in society. But we may be reassured also for where passions seethe, the truth is often vented, as they say.

This session will go down in the people's historical memory for an entirely different reason, namely, for the fact that there was thereat a genuine process of lawmaking in an atmosphere of complete democratic spirit. Just think, comrades, it is essentially the first time that such fundamental laws—on continued reform of the political system, on the flowering of our language and our culture—have been enacted. The laws which have been approved lay a firm foundation for our people's enhanced creative intellectual potential and its activation.

Dear comrades, I appeal on behalf of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee to you and also to those who are now listening to us on the radio and watching us on television. The republic now has extensive democratic opportunities for a display of creativity and independence and for fruitful work, without which the accomplishment of all our designs is impossible. Just 2 months remain until the end of the year. And how much has still to be done, in particular, for an increase in housing construction and the increased manufacture of consumer goods and for the development of science and culture! So let us concentrate our efforts on constructive work for the good of our republic and our people!

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet concluded the session.

Interior Ministry Troops Leave Kishinev

LD2011123789 Moscow TASS in English 1157 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Kishinev November 20 TASS—As the situation in the Moldavian capital has stabilised, a unit from the USSR Interior Ministry forces has been withdrawn from Kishinev.

The Interior Ministry unit came to help the local militia restore public order in the city.

Mass riots took place in Kishinev on November 7 and 10. Riot participants tried to impede the military parade and demonstration on the occasion of the 72nd anniversary of the October Revolution, and then attacked the Moldavian Interior Ministry headquarters.

Petr Luchinskiy, elected first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party's Central Committee at the plenary meeting of the party Central Committee last week, told PRAVDA he intends to work for the soonest consolidation of all sound forces in the Moldavian public, which, he believes, constitute the majority.

Ministry Grabs Millions From Chernobyl Fund

PM0311134189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 89 p 1

[Article by writer Vladimir Lipskiy, chairman of the Belorussian branch of the V.I. Lenin Soviet Children's Fund, under the rubric "Every Day in This Spot": "Children and the Atom"]

[Text] "Uncle, when will we be moved from home?"—for the umpteenth night I have been unable to get to sleep because of this question from a girl in the village of Strelichevo, Gomel Oblast.

My dear girl, a session of the republic Supreme Soviet has just been held in Minsk. It adopted a state program to eliminate the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station. Your village has been included in the third stage of the resettlement. Adults intend to still carry out "essential agrochemical, agromeliorative, decontamination, and other measures" in order to establish whether foodstuffs fit for consumption can be obtained from your state farm. And only then will this "list No 3," which includes 352 of the republic's population centers, come into force.

Meanwhile, people will be rescued and moved from places where the radiation dose prevents them from remaining. There are 261 such population centers in Belorussia.

...The children in Strelichevo celebrated that terrible May Day in 1986 in the stadium. To the sinister dance of the Chernobyl jinni, whose epicenter was just 60 km away. For the 4th year now these children have been sitting in school up to 12 hours a day. It is said that this is only in order to get "clean" food three times a day. This is the 4th year that the kids have not bathed in the stream or walked into the forest.

"I am tired of deceiving the children," teacher Yekaterina Trofimovna Skripko said. "How much longer must we suffer? Why?"

The tragedy is such that we are obliged to eliminate it all together. The republic program drawn up on the initiative of the Belorussian Government already amounts to R17 billion. Is a single republic capable of assimilating such money in the shortest possible time?

The days of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet session which adopted this program coincided in Minsk with an extramural plenum of the V.I. Lenin Soviet Children's Fund. In parallel with the republic's parliament people from all parts of the country were thinking about how to help the Chernobyl children. By the will of evil fate kids in 11 oblasts of Belorussia, the Ukraine, and Russia have become "Chernobyl" children.

An increase in diseases associated with changes in the thyroid gland has already been noted in the strictly controlled zones in Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts. The sickness rate is growing among newborn babies, and there has been an increase in births with congenital anomalies.

It is a crime to conceal these facts, to gloss over them, or, still more, to "double check" them once again. And so the plenum participants decided to create a public court of the Soviet Children's Fund.

If you take a close look at recent disasters—the sufferings of innocent children on the railroad in Bashkiria, the infection of children with the AIDS virus in Volgograd, Rostov, and Elista, and the orphaned children of "Afgantsy" or of Armenia—everywhere you see the same criminal. He appears now as an indifferent official, now as an ossified bureaucrat, now as a shortsighted politician, now as a slipshod worker. But children's rights are being violated both here and there. Well, the Chernobyl crime before childhood is special.

Who gave the orders to build schools and kindergartens in "dirty" zones? Sometimes this was done to "reassure" people: See—we are building, so all is in order. In this way 37 new schools and 43 kindergartens were built in the space of 3 years in the zone of constant sanitary control—with 10,000 places!

And not just schools. They built entire villages and settlements where clean produce cannot be grown.

Until recently the senior comrades in Moscow and Minsk who were entrusted with directing the elimination of the accident's aftermath dashingly brandished huge figures for what had been done. Much really has been done. But sometimes you wonder: Was this work not in vain?

They replaced tens of thousands of kilometers of fencing. Were they fencing themselves off from radiation? They repaired and built "clean" livestock units, while livestock was wandering about in dirty meadows and fields!

And still the scale of the work is immense. And no expense must be spared here, as bullets are not spared in battle, if we want to win the battle. The Soviet Children's Fund has determined the extent to which it can get involved in helping the Chernobyl children. An "Anti-Chernobyl" Radiological Center will be set up, equipped

with modern diagnostic medical apparatus. The fund intends to invite the world's major specialists to this center. On the instructions of Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, an appropriate building is now being selected from among the best in Belorussia. Agreement has been reached with the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League Central Committee, and one shift at "Artek" [young pioneer camp in the Crimea] will very soon be given over entirely to Chernobyl children. The Children's Fund is setting about inviting medical specialists to it from our country and from abroad.

But there is also another source. In September 1987, on the orders of the USSR Council of Ministers, R65,853,136.60 was transferred from the Chernobyl Charity Account No 904 to the account of the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation to compensate for the expenses incurred by it (the ministry) in the fourth reactor unit. This was done... out of public subscriptions. And to whom?—to one of those to blame for the Chernobyl tragedy.

The Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation must at least return the illegally obtained sum of public money. And let it be returned, let us say, to the Children's Fund Account No 707 in Minsk marked "For the Children of Chernobyl." We will use it for the proper purpose. At the same time I report that currency account No 707901 has been opened at the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity in Minsk for the Children's Fund.

There is also another proposal. Can we not find young enthusiasts in the country who could, let us say, lease a collective or state farm and produce clean products there, process them for baby food on the spot, and send all this to children in the zone? I believe that the state too could determine certain benefits for such an unusual agricultural cooperative.

If we do not help and do this, our children and grandchildren will never ever forgive us.

RSFSR Plan, Budget Commissions To Meet

LD1911110789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] In the Russian Federation an election campaign is gaining momentum. In March of next year, the republic's citizens are to elect RSFSR people's deputies and deputies of the supreme soviets of the autonomous republics and local soviets. Elections are also to take place in other republics.

Furthermore, the session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of the previous convocation still has to ratify the plan and budget of the republic for next year. On Monday a sitting of the planning and budgetary commission will take place, together with representatives of other permanent commissions of the highest bodies of state authority of the RSFSR. It is precisely the issue of the results of a preliminary study of the plan and budget which is on the agenda. The session itself is opening on 28 November.

Foreign Ministry Archives Chief Interviewed

PM0911100689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with V.V. Sokolov, chief of the USSR Foreign Policy Archives and deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Historical Diplomatic Administration, by A. Ostalskiy, under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Marked 'Secret'"—date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] At the USSR Foreign Policy Archives there are endless rows of files of yellowing, musty paper—tonnes of telegrams and letters, the secret annals of decades, which no one has read in full. But even if the political storms have died down and the people involved are no longer alive, secrets remain secrets. From whom? Why? Do the diplomatic secrets of the 1920's, 30's, and 40's really still hold a danger for our state? It is not the first time IZVESTIYA has tried to find answers to these questions. This time they are answered by V.V. Sokolov, chief of the USSR Foreign Policy Archives and deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Historical Diplomatic Administration.

[Sokolov] You cannot simply open up the archives to all and sundry—or else irremediable damage would be done to this precious state property. But it is, of course, necessary to make the main bulk of the documents available to scholars and journalists.

[Ostalskiy] But journalists and historians have been waiting a long time for your steel doors to be flung open...

[Sokolov] We believe we are helping many correspondents and specialists even now. Our small reading room is monstrously overcrowded.... But of course, this problem can only be fully resolved by a law on archives and state secrecy. The draft already exists, and it takes into account many of our proposals. It is proposed to establish a specific time limit on the secrecy of documents, say, 30 or 50 years. True, it will be necessary to make a few exceptions to that rule...

[Ostalskiy] Why? What kind of secrets can there be, after so many decades?

[Sokolov] We have nothing to hide from our people. But there are still certain generally accepted norms... For instance, in Britain, which has great experience in this sphere, there are glaring gaps in the lists of archive documents. It is not so very uncommon for various departments, among them the Foreign Office, not to hand over a particular document for general storage. In all Western states without exception there are strict rules governing this problem. Usually there is restricted access to documents affecting national security or honor and

dignity, the material position of individuals, trade and commercial secrets, and personal medical matters.

[Ostalskiy] So the most interesting and important things remain concealed from the public?

[Sokolov] Not at all! You can rely on my great experience: The most important and interesting things can be found even now in openly published, declassified documents, rather than in closed storage. After the adoption of the law, we believe, the only exceptions will be details of no historical significance. Surely it is not all that important to know who was the lover of a particular president or minister, what disease a particular ambassador suffered from....

There are cases where documents concern territorial disputes between states, disputes that are continuing to this day. We are very reluctant to fuel the flames of conflict!

The British, by the way, are to this day refusing to transfer to open storage certain documents concerning the killing of A.S. Griboyedov in Tehran [in 1829] or the flight of Hitler's associate Rudolf Hess to Britain in May 1941. There are similar restrictions in France. In that country, incidentally, there are three different time limits for the secrecy of documents, depending on their nature—from 30 to 120 years. We propose to make do with 30 or 50 years, and we hope that the exceptions will cover not more than 3-5 percent of archive material. But in order to achieve this, we have to find a solution to many serious problems.

Do you know how many secret documents have accumulated in the years of soviet power?

[Ostalskiy] How many?

[Sokolov] There are 1.3 million files—around 5 km of shelving! We have already declassified 10,000-12,000 files, 142 in the first half of this year alone, plus 496 individual documents. And we are continuing this work, but it is only a drop in the bucket. We are gradually going over to microfiches and creating computer programs on particular topics, although the priority task is still to meet current needs—processing new materials coming in from Foreign Ministry departments and Soviet institutions abroad. But if a law is adopted (and we are assuming that this will happen in the near future) and a time limit for secrecy is set, who will process the whole vast stock that has accumulated? We now have only 42 people on our staff, and they are already grossly overloaded.

[Ostalskiy] It seems to me that apart from objective difficulties, you have some subjective difficulties too. While I was working in the archives one of your staffers, trying to help me, broke a directive, admittedly with the consent of her superiors. But she said to me: I smile at you, I agree that it is necessary to resist absurd bans, but my heart stands still... After all, I have a family.

[Sokolov] That is a very natural fear. That woman had reason to be afraid, I assure you. Nearly everyone in our department has had difficult personal experience.

[Ostalskiy] You too?

[Sokolov] Me too. Some 4 years ago my whole life was very nearly ruined—because I published in the open press the text of a note on the establishment of diplomatic relations with Albania in 1945. The then-leader of our administration made a great "case" out of it. I was only saved by the change of leadership that took place at that time at the USSR Foreign Ministry—A.A. Gromyko had already given his consent to my dismissal.

Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Session Ends

LD1811230789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A session of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet ended today. Correspondent N. Gongadze reports:

After yesterday's tense debates and discussions on the amendments and addenda to the Constitution Basic Law of the Georgian SSR, the participants in today's session continued discussing the report on the state plan and budget of the Georgian SSR for 1990. The relevant laws and decisions were unanimously endorsed. It should be noted that on this occasion, taking part in the work of the republic's parliament for the first time was a large group of representatives from the Georgian People's Front and other public associations. Consolidation and constructive dialogue between all public forces and movements, mutual understanding and respect for each other's ethnic feelings—this is the path toward real sovereignty for the republic, toward the stabilization of the sociopolitical situation.

Beginning today, the republic's Supreme Soviet decided to set up a commission to draft a law on a referendum, and draft laws on the Georgian SSR on language and on the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast. Independent services have also been set up on land use, land tenure regulations, and environmental protection. [video shows session in progress]

Armenians Attack Military Vehicles

LD1911230189 Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 11 Nov 89 p 2

[Text] Instances of armed raids and destruction have taken place in Lachin Rayon recently. On 8 November a detachment of the Karakend Militia School of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs was fired at twice by automatic weapons from Armenia Soviet Socialist Republic territory. In the evening the military detachment's vehicle was blown up after hitting explosives hidden on the road. The driver and head of the communication center were injured.

On 9 November, at the 26 km mark of the motor vehicle road between Lachin and Dzhaguzur, a Zil-130 carrying construction materials for the Lachin Rayon construction department was blown up. The driver and four people who were taking care of the freight were injured.

Criminal proceedings are underway for the above-mentioned cases.

Azeri Popular Front Calls Warning Strike

AU2111120089 Paris AFP in English 1141 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 21 (AFP)—Azeri nationalists have called a 24-hour strike for Wednesday to press demands for an end to Moscow's direct rule of the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh enclave, nationalist sources said.

Leyla Yussunova, the spokesperson for the Azerbaijan Popular Front which is calling the strike, said it would hit the republic's firms and industries but that schools, grocery stores and public transporation would go on as usual.

The Front wants the Supreme Soviet, or parliament, to disband the special administration committee set up by Moscow last January after bloody clashes between Armenians and Azeris.

The autonomous enclave is under Azerbaijan's domain but its Armenian majority want it to be merged with neighboring Armenia.

The Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet already called for the committee's dissolution in a vote September 15.

Mrs. Yussunova said the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet had asked the national parliament to endorse its decision, but nothing had yet been done.

The current Supreme Soviet session is to conclude work Friday.

Mrs. Yussunova said a rally was to be held Saturday in the Azerbaijan capital of Baku to examine the situation.

Azerbaijan Deputy Chairman Appointed

LD1911214189 Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 5 Nov 89 p 3

[Excerpt] The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees the appointment of Comrade Matvey Ivanovich Radayev as deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers.

[Signed] E. Kafarova, chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Signed] R. Kaziyeva, secretary of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium. City of Baku, 4 November 1989.

M.I. Radayev was born in 1937. He is Russian and a member of the CPSU. [passage omitted]

Dangerous Role of Troops in NKAO Described

PM2011100189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 89 p 2

[Special correspondent A. Ganelin reportage under the rubric "Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast: On the Spot": "Battalions Appeal for Calm" followed by comment by Major General Ye. Nechayev, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Troops Political Directorate]

[Text] ... I was not with the internal troops soldiers when they freed the hostages in Fergana. People did not throw stones and bottles of flammable mixture at me in Kokand. It was not at me that people in Sukhumi fired with sawed-off shotguns.

... I was with them for only 5 days in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]... Only 5 days in a military uniform with the internal troops. But service here really means something...

10.19.89.

Extract from a report by the special region commandant's office.

At 1830 the personnel of the post at the exit from Mardakert city were shot at.

At 2200 24 shots from a rifled weapon were fired in the area of another post.

... In the morning, in Moscow, when I was traveling to the airport, the report that there was shooting in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and that buses were operating only under APC protection seemed remote, like artillery fire in Lebanon.

But at night on the same day, after I had been inoculated against hepatitis, wearing a uniform and bulletproof vest, I was already being jolted about in a truck on the way out to checking the guard posts.

"At precisely 2200 the 'war' will begin," Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Aleksandrovich Sidorov, sitting in the front seat, warned. A few minutes later shots rang out. Had it begun? I looked at my watch. It was 2150.

"Are they early?"

"No, your watch is simply slow," Senior Lieutenant Aleksandr Artemyev answered. "We can set our watches by the shots, just as you can set them by the cannon at the Peter and Paul fortress..."

We stopped on a bridge. A little to one side a grader riddled with bullets had fallen on its side. The chief of the troop detail reported that everything was fine and that there had been no incidents. I already knew that a crippled grader is a common occurrence here. The guard

posts and columns are constantly being fired at. I had already heard a lot of conversations in the soldiers' smoking room: "... We were fired at from there three times, and from here four times..." And I saw a bridge which had been blown up on the way out of Stepanakert. The land around was neat and flat. They operated like professionals. Now the column could only be taken to Shusha via the center of Stepanakert. This was risky.

... Four of us were traveling at night along a mountain road from post to post. The equipment: Four bulletproof vests, three submachineguns, a pistol. We were the inspectors for the posts. We presented a good moving target for those people in the mountains.

"Is the armor tough?" I asked Sasha, adjusting my ZhZL; I could still picture the grader riddled with bullets.

ZhZL is not my favorite volume from the series "Remarkable People's Lives," [Zhizn Zamechatelnykh Lyudey, commonly abbreviated to ZhZL] which I had taken with me on the trip. ZhZL means Light Bulletproof Vest. The lives of remarkable people in military uniform depend on the ZhZL.

"How can I put it?" Sasha replied. "For a knife and a pistol—yes. It will stand up to automatic fire only from a long way off."

Of course, a heavy bulletproof vest can provide protection, particularly for those in the front seat, in front of the windshield. But... Lieutenant Colonel Sidorov explains clearly: "Soldiers are at the posts. There are 19 at each of them. It is night. There's shooting. They wear ZhZL's. Wouldn't you be scared?"

"I would be," I admitted honestly.

"You see. We must at least try to calm them somehow. Show them that we are wearing light bulletproof vests, which means everything is fine. We travel around. No problem... "

That is how political work is carried out here. Through personal example.

... We went to the next post. It is situated between Azerbaijani and Armenian population centers. A stone ring had been constructed as high as a man, with canvas stretched over it so that lights could not be seen. There were two soldiers inside the ring. There were bullet marks on the stones. And there was an old mattress to provide protection from the flying stone fragments. I looked at this stone fortification and I couldn't help thinking that I had already seen something similar somewhere. I remembered: In the mountains on the border with Afghanistan.

... One more bridge. If it were to be blown up, several villages at once would be cut off. So here the guard had been strengthened. There were armored reconnaissance vehicles and sentries on the bridge. There were soldiers under the bridge as well. To the right there was a black mountain. To the left—forest closing in around us. The river made such a noise that if someone were to approach unnoticed, you wouldn't have heard him. A nice little spot.

"Oh, I don't like that mountain," Sidorov shook his head. "Light the lamp, Shura."

And he had just lit the lamp when there was a howl. There was a pause. And again there was a long, terrible howl. "Jackals, perhaps?" someone suggested. It would have been fine, if that had been the case. A jackal was not going to fire a rifle or a submachinegun. But it was hardly likely to be jackals. They wouldn't light a fire. And taking a closer look, we saw above the mountain a thin thread of smoke merging with the clouds.

He turned off the lamp. We waited. Would there be a flash of gunfire from the mountain?

...The next day sappers surrounded all the approaches to the bridge with barbed wire, and we set out to comb the mountains. We had to find out what could be seen from there. We reached the very top and we found observation posts surrounded by stones, traces of a fire and three empty glucose vials. The previous night there had been experienced people here who knew that glucose can entirely replace food supplies.

And all the time we were combing the mountains a helicopter was circling over us. It was looking to see why soldiers had climbed the mountain. The helicopter was a civilian one, so what was there to worry about. But here even civilian "helicopters" are on someone's side. The Azerbaijani population in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is sure that weapons come in this way, with shipments to Armenian villages. The Armenian population is convinced that the reverse is true.

10.20.89.

At 1030, when a civilian column was passing close to an Azerbaijani settlement in Lachinskiy Rayon, shots were fired at the column by three unknown persons. Three members of the patrol group were forced to reply with gunfire.

... Initially there was a "war of rocks" in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. There was plenty of "ammunition." There were mountains around. Buses with passengers aboard were bombarded with rocks. Rocks were used in attempts to put out of action even aircraft coming in to land. But now firing was beginning increasingly frequently.

"Will you sell your submachinegun?"

People in the villages frequently approach soldiers with this question. Hundreds of weapons have already been confiscated from the population, but as before they are firing from both sides. And when you ask "Why do you need a weapon?" the Azerbaijanis explain: To protect ourselves from Armenians. And the Armenians need to protect themselves from the Azerbaijanis. There is a very real arms race on both sides.

In many Azerbaijani and Armenian villages we saw trenches strengthened for all-around defense. Observation points. It was not only shell cases made in our country that we found near them. Everyone was trying to consolidate his position on a commanding hill in order to keep his neighbor in his sights. But how long can you live as if in a trench, keeping your neighbor in your sights, at the same time realizing that he is also keeping you in his sights?

People living in neighboring villages say to the soldiers: "We are tired. We want to live without the shooting. We want to live." But they say this quietly, when there are no witnesses. As soon as they start any cease-fire talks, thugs appear on both sides. And the shooting starts again because they are afraid of the thugs. And the thugs, the feeling emerges, are not afraid of anybody. How many times have they been detained and handed over to both sides' local authorities, the soldiers said. But time passes, and they are free again, and once again they start shootig in the mountains. Now the thugs on both sides are like folk heroes.

"Why don't the troops and forces take decisive measures?" I used to wonder until I found myself here in a military uniform. Now, after talking with people from the special forces, little surprises me. They talked about how they carried out an operation to catch some thugs. They carried it out. They caught them. And they were asked: Why did you operate without witnesses [ponyatykh]? But where could they find witnesses when the operation was carried out in the mountains at a height of 2,000 meters.

The thugs have the most modern arms. They even have night-vision devices. But one can see even without devices: The situation is deteriorating sharply both by day and at night.

... In a small village, which almost all young people had left, we asked an old woman standing at her gate:

"What do you need, lady? What do you require?"

"Bread and Stalin."

Is it possible that in order not to fear each other, we really have to fear some leader. A Generalissimo. Maybe we can't do without fear, like we can't do without bread?

"Let them come to a decision at last," we were told in the villages when the heat of emotions had cooled.

"There is firing here every day, people are killed, while at the session people are discussing what a certain esteemed deputy was up to [kuda poshel uvazhayemyy deputat s buketom—possibly a reference to Yeltsin]... "

And of course, there were very many irreconcilable opinions. "This has been our land from time immemorial!"—this can be heard on both sides of the "border." Everyone is united about one thing—everyone was demanding that a decision should be made.

And then, back at the unit, recalling all these conversations, I thought of something else. Do those who incited the crowds actually stand between them when they are shooting each other? When that happens it is the internal troops that stand between them. Perhaps the inciters and those who cannot talk about the internal troops without hatred, and those who discuss the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast as abstractly as if they were talking about Honduras, should try to stand between them for a change. And talk to them in a conciliatory way not from a distance, but in close contact with them? I think the internal troops would willingly give them their most durable, their heaviest bulletproof vests then. Just in case...

10.21.89.

At 1730 the chief of the troop detail at the checkpoint near the village of Khodzhalla in Askeranskiy Rayon reported that machinegunfire and rifle shots had been heard in the region of the checkpoint.

In the evening Sidorov, commander of the unit, warned:

"We have received information that an attempt will be made to blow up the bridge toward morning."

We didn't sleep, we smoked.

0100. The field telephone rang. It had started.

"A tractor is approaching the bridge!"

"Stop it, search it thoroughly and report back," Vladimir Aleksandrovich gave the order.

Then we had to write on the tractor: "Checked, no mines."

0200. 0300. 0400. The posts reported that everything was fine. Nothing suspicious. 0500. Toward morning the all clear was given. We could sleep till about 0900. A normal night. Nothing happened. But something can happen on any ordinary night...

... How difficult it is to build bridges when both sides are thinking of blowing them up... Neither Moscow, nor anyone else will be able to build them, to make any decision if there aren't attempts by both sides to put an end to confrontation, by sitting down at the negotiating table.

... The unit of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Dzerzhinskiy division where I ended up had been in all the "hot" spots in recent years. What names its soldiers haved been called.

"Occupiers."

"Fanatics."

"Orphans."

Orphans because, they said, lads from children's homes were specially selected from the entire Union to be sent

here. Because they had grown up without parental tenderness, they were not compassionate.

Occupiers? But there is not a single soldier or officer who would not dream of going home as soon as possible.

People also say that they are paid very well. Well, those who want to earn it, step this way. These are the rates—a one-time R400 payment for a serious wound, R200 for a slight wound. And a soldier's R7 a month if he is fit and healthy.

Fanatics? Rather the reverse, fanatics frequently oppose them. Orphans? There is not one young man in the division from a deprived family.

Day after day the internal troops hear this kind of thing in the autonomous oblast. From both sides. But people from both sides also fire at them. It is like pneumonia in both lungs. The right lung accuses the left one of being diseased, and vice versa. What's the cure? Surgical intervention, a large-scale military operation? But how can this be done if weapons are to be used in the most extreme cases. There are population centers all around, and there are old men, women and children in them.

"And us?" those in military uniform ask. Those who for more than a year have been serving in bulletproof vests and helmets. They have been here for more than a year and, on their return home, by force of habit look around every three paces—is someone aiming at them? Some units replace others. And everyone is tired of this temporary stay in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast which is becoming permanent.

The people in uniform are tired. But they are people who stick to the regulations. People who stick to the oath. People who stick to their duty. They are ready to carry on wading through mud, get hepatitis, and stand as a living wall between the two warring factions—for as long as necessary. But how much longer will it be necessary? The internal troops cannot solve internal political problems.

"What should a guard do if he is fired at?"

"Step up vigilance."

This is the joke here.

10.22.89.

1854. The chairman of the "Krasnyy" village collective farm in Askeranskiy Rayon reported that in the village of Malibeyli close to the road three civilian vehicles were fired at by an unknown person in a militia uniform with a pistol and a rifle.

The special forces company was already asleep when the alarm was sounded.

"In a village where Armenians and Azerbaijanis live together, a crowd has gathered. It is in an aggressive mood. The post has asked for reinforcements," V. Stefanovskiy, deputy political commander of the company, explained.

"Go very carefully. The road is dangerous," we were told on leaving.

"Step on the gas," Vladimir Muntyayev, commander of the special forces, ordered. And the driver stepped on the gas. There was no time for regulations, the main thing was to get there in time. We arrived at the village. We braked. And Muntyayev went straight to the crowd. It was dark. You couldn't see anything. Shadows flickered. Everyone was shouting:

"Go on! Take him away. He is drunk!"

Everyone was on edge. Everyone was shouting. It was as if Volodya didn't have any nerves. He stressed calmly:

"Calm down. What's happened? Let's sort this out systematically."

And again there was shouting. Here the main thing was not to give in. So that the situation wouldn't get the better of you. But so that you would get the better of the situation and not succumb to the shouting. I had hardly turned around when two more members of the special forces appeared on each side of Muntyayev. Two were at his back. No one else from the special forces came out of the cab. Why rub people the wrong way? Finally it became clear, the young man who had come from elsewhere—neither an Armenian nor an Azerbaijani—had been drinking heavily and had begun to behave aggressively.

"This is provocation!" people in the crowd were shouting. "Somebody got him drunk on purpose! Take him away!"

It really was better to take him away: Both for the inhabitants of the village, and for the young man himself. He was quickly bundled into the cab.

Was it worth raising the alarm and getting them up? It was worth it. And it was worth driving the vehicle hard because, who knows how everything would have ended in this village if the driver had observed the traffic regulations. After all, everyone was on edge there...

We were told: "Why did you come here, soldiers? Don't come here anymore." But we come here all the same, and frequently, because people want to meet with the commandant because they have a mass of vitally important questions that can only be solved by Lieutenant Colonel Sidorov, not the person saying: "Don't come here anymore."

"Children have measles. Inoculations are not being given. Allowances and pensions are not being paid out. The newspapers don't get here. Gas and water are being systematically shut off. If you don't solve the employment problem we shall not trust you..."

The commandant wrote down these questions in an Azerbaijani sector surrounded by an Armenian population center. In Armenian sectors surrounded by Azerbaijani population centers, they asked the same questions.

The next day the commander began to tackle this load of human problems. Progress was made on some of them. And the next time he came to the same village, the oldest and most respected person said to him:

"I promise that there will be no shots fired on our side."

...We would eventually like to hear this from both sides.

10.23.89.

At 0145 there was an attack on the sentry guarding the fuel and lubricant depot in the city of Martuni. The sentry used his weapon. The attackers disappeared in a car. [Ganelin reportage ends.]

Major General Ye. Nechayev, deputy chief of the USSR MVD Internal Troops Political Directorate, comments as follows:

I shall speak frankly. Previously we were not treated very kindly by the mass media. Sometimes, through our own fault, because we classified as secret things which, in general, were not secret. And because little was known about us there were many rumors surrounding the internal troops.

The wave of public interest in the internal troops has increased, and accordingly the number of articlea has increased. Today's article is a continuation of the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA tradition whereby journalists work alongside with our soldiers. For many months KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has been constantly with us in the front line. Readers must know how frequently soldiers of the internal troops have to run the risk of being knifed by bandits or shot by extremists; how they have to confront an armed crowd drunk with rage. People must learn from objective newspaper articles the truth about what the internal troops are today.

NKAO National Council Function Discussed

90US0181A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 13 Oct 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Robert Kocharyan, deputy of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and member of the Presidium of the National Soviet of Nagorno-Karabakh, by B. Rovda: "Artsakh in a Blockade"; first paragraph is editorial introduction, last six paragraphs are editors' note]

[Text] **"Do not be surprised by this word—Artsakh. This is what the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh call their ancient land," said my interlocutor, deputy of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and member of the Presidium of the National Soviet of Nagorno-Karabakh, Robert Kocharyan.**

[Rovda] Robert, you and your compatriots participated in the conference of democratic movements and organizations organized by the Leningrad People's Front. What interested you most in the work of the conference?

[Kocharyan] Delegates to the conference considered several questions, particularly the political situation in the country, the development of national relations, and the unification of democratic forces.

Of course we were mainly interested in the discussion of the national question. It was also said that there would be a delegation from Azerbaijan. It would have been quite possible for us to conduct some negotiations but they did not arrive. The dialogue did not take place. The problem of ethnic relations was discussed in general, although in the resolution there are no concrete lines devoted to Artsakh, and in the spirit of this resolution the problem should be solved in the way it was raised by the people of Karabakh.

[Rovda] What is the situation in your homeland now? For we know practically nothing about it.

[Kocharyan] Because of the mass media the people in the country are actually ignorant of everything that is taking place here. It seems to me that another mistake is being made. For this is what happened before: There was a first round of tension, and the newspapers said nothing about it. Nobody knew about the events in Karabakh, Sumgait... And now there is another round of tension, and again—silence.

[Rovda] Well let us break this silence.

[Kocharyan] A committee of the special administration of the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] was once created. But in time it turned out that this was a half-baked solution. When introducing a special form of government, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet simultaneously halted the effect of the oblast committee of the party and deputies, attaching their apparatus to the Special Administration Committee (KOU). In essence, as of today Soviet authority does not exist in the oblast.

[Rovda] You say that essentially there is no Soviet authority, but does the KOU have any real power?

[Kocharyan] Because of its indefinite political status it has not taken hold. It was introduced as an experiment and the local management structures were broken down. As of the current moment there is no autonomy in Karabakh, for in and of itself it means nothing if there are no actual organs of authority. In general there was a desire to stabilize the situation, but the inconsistency in resolving the conflict and the constant desire of the KOU not to offend either side even at the expense of fairness led to another conflict.

M.S. Gorbachev advanced the idea that it was necessary to make a decision without offending either side. This pervaded the entire union. Recently R.N. Nishanov, the chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said something similar in the newspaper IZVESTIYA.

But in this idea—not to offend either of the sides—there is a complete lack of justice, that is, it does not raise the

question of solving the problem according to international law or simply according to common sense or justice.

[Rovda] I introduced you as a deputy of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and a member of the Presidium of the National Soviet of Nagrono Karabakh. But was Nagorno-Karabakh represented in the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan prior to this? What changes have taken place in Karabakh and what is its National Soviet?

[Kocharyan] So far our territorial okrugs are represented in the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan, but since these events started not a single one of the Armenian deputies from Nagorno-Karabakh has participated in the meetings of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR. All of them have refused their mandates.

But in certain free okrugs in Armenia in August of this year there were elections of deputies from Nagorno-Karabakh to the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR. Two people were nominated. I was elected for Kirovakan Territorial Electoral Okrug No 139.

As concerns the National Soviet of Artsakh, the population regarded the breaking down of our oblast structures as an incorrect act. We thought that the KOU should be above the oblast structures, replacing the leadership of Azerbaijan, which had compromised itself with respect to the NKAO. We appealed to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies to restore the constitutional forms of government. Finally a delegation of people's deputies of the USSR from Nagrono-Karabakh and leaders of the Stepanakert City party organization and the party raykoms of the oblast—nine people—were at a reception for M.S. Gorbachev. He promised that within 10 days he would solve the problem of the restoration of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies and within a month he would restore the functions of the party obkom [oblast committee]. All this took place in June. It is not September and nothing practical has been done.

Having lost hope in the restoration of the oblast structures of Karabakh from the center, we decided to do this ourselves. Moreover, the aggravation of the situation gives each people the right to look for ways of survival. We took advantage of this right.

The National Soviet was created in a very interesting way. I shall discuss it in more detail because attempts have already been made to blame the soviet for seizing power. The whole thing is that it was created by structures that exist in the oblast: Although the oblast party and soviet organs were disbanded, the rayon committees and soviets and the Stepanakert party city committee and city soviet are working. And so the gorkom [city party committee] and raykoms [rayon committees] and the bureaus and ispolkoms [executive committees] of the soviets held a joint meeting at which they adopted a decision to create the National Soviet and formed an organizing committee for convening a congress of people's representatives.

Our informal organizations were the first to come out with this initiative and then the party and soviet organs supported it. And delegates to the congress were elected both from the population of particular territories and from party organizations according to the number of communists.

All the party committee plenums and sessions of people's soviets adopted a decision: to recognize the National Soviet of the NKAO as the highest organ of authority on the territory of Artsakh and to delegate to it the right to lead the official structures.

On 16 August of this year the congress of people's representatives formed the National Soviet of Nagorno-Karabakh and proclaimed the NKAO an independent union territory. On the territory they nullified the Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR, the AzSSR [Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic] law on the NKAO, and other republic laws. The congress appealed to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of the union republics asking them to recognize the National Soviet of Artsakh as the only popular authority in the NKAO and to render assistance in the most rapid possible restoration of constitutional forms of government of the autonomous oblast independent of Azerbaijan.

All this was done democratically and constitutionally, and attempts to call the congress an attempt at seizure of power were impossible from the very beginning since the power itself was created by this soviet. And as was pointed out in the congress decisions, the National Soviet of the NKAO was created before the restoration of constitutional forms of government.

[Rovda] What is the real power of the National Soviet?

[Kocharyan] It conducts meetings and instructs party and soviet organs in the rayons and in Stepanakert to carry out their decisions.

[Rovda] So one might say that there is a diarchy in Artsakh.

[Kocharyan] Yes, such is the situation. There is a committee for special administration which has been given power from above—by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (and which has direct jurisdiction over the troops) and the National Soviet, to which this power has been delegated from below—by the people—but which does not have a firm legal status.

The committee for special government at the present time has no authority over the people: The population recognizes the authority of the National Soviet of Nagorno-Karabakh. But the committee is recognized by the authority of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Neither the KOU nor the National Soviet has any choice left but to cooperate.

In my opinion there should be a delimitation of the spheres of activity. Everything that takes place on the territory of the NKAO should be resolved by the

National Soviet. Everything that pertains to ties between the National Soviet and the central organs should be carried out through the KOU. Naturally, since all the troops are under the jurisdiction of the KOU, it should be the only one to deal with questions of preventing ethnic conflicts and ensuring the safety of the citizens.

The National Soviet has a program for its activity. In particular, it envisions the most rapid integration of the economy of the NKAO with the economy of Armenia. This is already being carried out since there is no time to lose; Artsakh has been blockaded for a year and a half already and the blockade becomes stronger each day. It is impossible to ship any cargo—foodstuffs, industrial goods, or construction materials...

[Rovda] Does this unthinkable situation really extend to the disaster zone as well—Spital and Leninakan?

[Kocharyan] In the regions of Armenia that were destroyed by the earthquake half the construction projects were shut down before my departure for Leningrad. And it was presumed that in the next 2-3 days all construction would be halted. There were no materials, no machines, no technical equipment.

Even before there was such a strict blockade, cargoes arriving in the disaster region through the territory of Azerbaijan arrived in terrible condition. The prefabricated houses from Russia, the equipment, and the containers of cargo from abroad were mostly damaged.

We just finished discussing this question at the session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and adopted very strict decisions. Apparently we shall have to solve the transportation problems in a different way for rail traffic is now proceeding in two directions—on the territory of Azerbaijan and Georgia. But most of the passenger traffic is moving through Georgia. We are now raising the question: If the railroad is state property, then apparently the state should arrange for regular operation of transportation. And if it is not capable of doing this, we should make an agreement with, say, Iran to ship over its territory at least the international cargo from philanthropic organizations and individuals and to expand border trade with Iran.

If at least some of the cargo is ending up in Armenia, Artsakh is stewing in its own juices. The enterprises are standing idle because of a lack of raw material.

[Rovda] It is hard to believe that since Nagorno-Karabakh is separated from Armenia only by a 4-5-kilometer strip.

[Kocharyan] Nobody here believes that the state is unable to unblock a 5-kilometer highway. But now the militia halt the vehicles at the barriers—both those coming from Armenia and those leaving Artsakh. It is a real fight to get through.

[Rovda] Does such a situation not threaten—no, not famine, since the crops are already harvested—but something more serious?

[Kocharyan] Indeed there will be no famine, although we do not have our own grain or flour. But during this year and a half (one must take into account that the political strike lasted 8 months) the economy reached the verge of collapse. Industry has no raw material. The farmers cannot ship their products, although recently our per-capita production was greater than the average for Azerbaijan by a factor of 2-3. It is necessary to overfeed the livestock, although we could deliver meat to the disaster zone. The crops are going to waste. We are not fulfilling our contractual commitments, and in particular we have failed to deliver to Russia (perhaps to Leningrad as well) tens of thousands of tons of excellent grapes. Costly table grapes should not be used for wine! Although this might be what we have to do.

We are surprised by the position of the central organs: They are so unruffled. And few people know about this; the first small article about it just appeared in PRAVDA.

[Rovda] What do you mean? Your journalist colleagues are not coming to see you?

[Kocharyan] More and more of them are coming from abroad and fewer and fewer Soviet journalists are coming. This is understandable: They write but their articles are not read. Who wants to come to Karabakh just out of curiosity.

[Rovda] Does the blockade extend to the rural areas of Azerbaijan?

[Kocharyan] There are now 185,000 people living in Artsakh, 20 percent of whom are Azerbaijanis. At the time of the creation of the NKAO 94.5 percent were Armenians. The rest were Russians, Kurds, and Azerbaijanis. Now there is a dense population of Azerbaijanis in a number of villages and in the rayon center of Shusha. We have almost no contacts with them. There are no major squabbles either, but there are small conflicts.

Even with this kind of impenetrable blockade, cargoes are delivered to them in very good condition before our very eyes. At the head of a convoy of 30-40 trucks is a military truck full of infantry troops, and there is one in the middle too, and trucks full of automatic weapons bring up the rear of the convoy. And the convoy has banners saying "Azerbaijan—Shusha"—and they proceed to their destination right before the eyes of the Armenian population who have no such opportunities.

One gets the impression that it would be better for the Armenians to leave Karabakh. For where? Anywhere! Australia! But we do not intend to leave our native land. It is now without reason that they say that we people from Karabakh are stubborn.

[Rovda] How do your children live amidst all this interethnic discord? For a state not of friendship but of hostility is becoming normal for them.

[Kocharyan] Unfortunately, this is true. Stepanakert has a population of 60,000 and half or at least a fourth of

them gather at each rally. There are many boys and girls and small children among them.

[Rovda] Even if representatives of the older generation can still extend a hand to one another, future generations might not be able to do this.

[Kocharyan] It is difficult to say. It seems to me that the sooner this problem is solved, the fewer traces there will be on the young hearts. And if the problem is not solved, the negative tendencies will grow. Things have reached a point where it is necessary to place border markers between the two peoples.

[Rovda] What is the Azerbaijani viewpoint? Unfortunately, I cannot ask this question of one of their representatives.

[Kocharyan] They do not want to change anything. Or else change the shape of the oblast. They have a plan to include nearby Azerbaijani regions in the NKAO. Then we Armenians will comprise only 25-30 percent.

Incidentally, one of the rayons of Azerbaijan applied to the National Soviet to be included in the NKAO. Shaumyanskiy Rayon—this is also a part of historical Artsakh. The population is exclusively Armenian. But almost 50 years ago four Azerbaijani villages were included in the rayon. If Armenian villages could be accepted into the NKAO and Azerbaijani ones could be withdrawn to compensate for this, possibly we could find a compromise along this path. But we are told: "Restructuring is not the same as cutting a new pattern."

[Rovda] In addition to everything else you are the secretary of the party committee of the silk combine. How is the party organization doing?

[Kocharyan] It is practically inactive. We are not collecting dues and we are not taking in new members. There were no elections last year and there will be none this year. In a word, the communists are waiting for the restoration of the oblast party organization.

[Rovda] Thank you, Robert, for giving us such detailed information about the situation in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. And you can be assured that everything you have said will be published!

[Kocharyan] I must ask you about that. I know for sure that there is a tacit taboo on all articles about the NKAO, and that which is published anyway is necessarily done according to the "Gorbachev principle": Do not offend anyone. But still the appearance of any information about the blockade of Armenia and Artsakh by Azerbaijan on the pages of PRAVDA makes it possible to believe that the Leningraders are listening to us.

From the editors: Of course, one can say that the truth told by one of the sides is a half truth. But even if this is so, it is difficult to imagine the difficulties that have befallen the ancient land of Artsakh. While this conversation was being prepared for publication (for it is difficult to presume that such a large article can be published on the spot), brief TASS reports from Stepanakert began to appear in the central newspapers.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh has become even more threatening: There is no food in the stores, there is not enough mixed feed for the livestock, and the crops are perishing on the fields. Under the conditions of the rail and highway blockade of Artsakh, Soviet Army troops have had to create an air transportation bridge. But the airport in Stepanakert is not large, it usually receives only passenger aircraft of the YaK-40 type.

The question of the relations between Artsakh and Azerbaijan and between Armenia and Azerbaijan can no longer remain open. It must be resolved immediately. Perhaps this will be done by the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet? And perhaps it would be fitting to link the beginning of the work of the Supreme Soviet to the first announcement of at least some kind of "break" in the blockade of Armenia. The first trains have traveled along the Azerbaijan railroad: They carried the cement, construction materials, timber, reinforced concrete items, prefabricated buildings, and metal that have been in such short supply for so long in the regions destroyed by the earthquake. Only a small proportion of the cargo that has been let through has been food.

And at the same time nothing promising has been heard from Artsakh. On the contrary: During an attempt to unblock the highway and take a convoy of trucks from Agdamskiy Rayon to Stepanakert, two young officers of the operational investigation group of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs died: Andrey Tyugayev and Sergey Gaba. And the Agdamskiy militia there were clearly conniving with the unruly crowd.

Having seen all this, it is difficult to consider the words of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, A.R.Kh. Bezirov, the final truth: "We categorically condemn the blockade of the roads... But I would not like to give the impression that this is all the fault of one side."

Right or not right, what is the difference?

Turkmen Supreme Soviet on Removal of Premier

PM1711213189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Plenum and Session"]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 17 Nov—A plenum of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee held here today adopted the Turkmen Communist Party's political platform for the election of Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] people's deputies and local soviet people's deputies. It also examined the question of party organizations' participation in the election campaign.

Party committees and organizations were instructed to elaborate and implement action plans for the fulfillment of the ideas and tasks outlined in the platform, and to

ensure that they are constructive, in line with the interests of and demands by residents of specific localities, and closely associated with the overall tasks of perestroyka.

Having examined the question of convening the regular 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress, the plenum decided to convene it in September 1990.

The plenum nominated Turkmen SSR people's deputies from the Turkmen Communist Party and constituted a Commission for Interethnic Relations under the republic Communist Party Central Committee.

An extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet was held in Ashkhabad the same day. It examined the question of relieving A. Khodzhamuradov of his duties as chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers in connection with his transfer to other work and appointing a chairman of the Council of Ministers on the basis of multicandidate elections to be held at the next session of the republic's Supreme Soviet in early December.

East Kazakhstan Obkom First Secretary Replaced

LD1711194789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] A plenum of the East Kazakhstan Obkom of the Kazakhstan Communist Party has taken place. It examined an organizational question.

The plenum relieved Milkin of his duties of first secretary of the oblast party committee in connection with his retirement on pension because of his state of health.

As a result of alternative elections (Tutevol) was elected first secretary of the East Kazakhstan oblast party committee. Previously he worked as head of the organizational party and cadres work of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee.

Economic

'Complex Phenomenon' of Unemployment Viewed

PM0111131589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[Viktor Shirokov article under the rubric "Forum for Discussion": "People Without Jobs"]

[Text] A word that for decades has been expunged by draconian methods from the socialist vocabulary is now appearing in the press and can be heard in academic faculties and even from state rostrums. So, is unemployment possible in our country?

Yes, it seems that we have no officially registered unemployed but that there are as many "unoccupied" people as you like. This reticently vague concept cannot cover up, for instance, the consequences of the demographic surge in Central Asia, southern Kazakhstan, and the Transcaucasus, which has rapidly turned them into regions with surplus manpower. Thus, the 31 March 1986 CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Involving the Unemployed Section of the Able-Bodied Population in the Union and Autonomous Republics of Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, and the North Caucasus in Socially Useful Labor" cited highly worrying figures. The proportion of unemployed people among the able-bodied population stood at 27.6 percent in Azerbaijan, 25.7 percent in Tajikistan, 22.8 percent in Uzbekistan, 18.8 percent in Turkmenia, 18 percent in Armenia, and 16.3 percent in Kirghizia. The actual reserve of able-bodied people who could be involved in social production in these regions stood at around 3 million. The situation has not changed much today; and that is just one example. There are others, too.

"By the end of the last 5-year plan," I was told by Yu. Tigalev, chief of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] Labor Rationalization Section, "production facilities had, on the whole, completed their transition to the team form of labor organization. Worker collectives started counting every kopek under the conditions of economic accountability. And outcasts appeared. These were mainly young, inexperienced workers, women with children, people of pensionable age, and those coming up to their pensions. That is—those who are not yet or are no longer highly productive. This contingent was 'pushed out' of labor collectives"....

Today the question on the agenda is full economic accountability for enterprises and regions. The experts see no other way out of the crisis than to introduce this system. Only we should not forget its other side—a tough and perhaps cruel side. By avoiding "hidden unemployment," economic accountability at the same time removes from production those people who can be done without.

During the current 5-year plan more than 3 million people have already been released. According to specialist forecasts this number could stand at 15-16 million by the year 2005. This still does not include those who will be made redundant as a result of the conversion of military production and the Army cuts. These are people without civilian trades, and they will have to be retrained and found jobs.

More and more able-bodied categories of the population will be coming into the labor market—however unpopular this term may be, we will have to get used to it—with every passing year. Above all, they will be from the managerial apparatus. It is excessively large, and the inevitability of reducing the numbers of "white collar workers" has become urgent and obvious. It is no accident that engineering and technical personnel are currently being released three times as fast as workers.

Women, secondary and vocational-technical college graduates, invalids, and released convicts are increasingly coming into the "labor market." In short, if we take

an honest look at today's realities, the number of permanently or temporarily unemployed members of the able-bodied population is reaching crisis proportions.

A plant director of my acquaintance used to wonder out loud from time to time:

"If only I had a couple of unemployed guys waiting outside the factory gates...."

Implying, of course, that productivity at his enterprise would rocket, output quality would improve sharply, and discipline would be strengthened in a flash. That is a dubious hope, since the "stick" of unemployment would fall not only on those crowding outside the factory gates, but also on those who would intensify their work under its punitive swish. After all, those who work hard have to pay for the unemployed people's upkeep....

The approach taken by certain countries—the United States, for instance—is that they are rich enough to pay out unemployment benefit to maintain a "reserve army" of able-bodied people at a certain minimum living standard. Other states prefer to place the emphasis on providing employment. The monetary compensation to the redundant is seen as an incentive for them to improve their skills or retrain.

What approach should we take if we do finally admit that unemployment has not passed us by? In answer to this question P. Rudev, deputy chief of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems [Goskomtrud] Labor Resources and Employment Administration, expressed an idea which initially struck me as a paradox:

"From the standpoint of the state's understanding unemployment is not a threat—at first glance there are plenty of jobs. At any rate, labor organs alone are currently looking for 1.5 million people. But what kinds of jobs are these? Above all, low-prestige jobs, or production and construction jobs which require the applicant to move to other regions. By no means everyone will consent to either of these options."

P. Rudev, who has long studied the problem of employment, is convinced that we need a flexible system of cadre redistribution in which people would either lose nothing in the social sense from changing their job or home, or could subsequently make up and offset this temporary loss. Regrettably, we still have no such system.

Admittedly, the first approaches to elaborating a range of state measures to promote employment and avoid unemployment have already been worked out. For instance, corresponding documents were adopted at the Sixth AUCCTU Plenum. The elaboration of a law on guarantees for employment has begun. We have also recognized legal norms on the freedom of job choice adopted by the International Labor Office Convention. Nonetheless, there are still very many "blank spots" in the unemployment problem.

For instance, how can we "marry up" jobs and people? After all, the labor shortage in Siberia, for instance, in no way reduces the severity of unemployment in Uzbekistan. An advertisement along the lines of "Highly Skilled Electrician Wanted" means nothing to a weaver. An electrical engineer will not make head nor tail of fish-canning equipment. In the early eighties around 300 "job banks" were set up in the United States, where computers "paired off" applicants with vacancies. We can still only dream of such a system. We would settle for an integrated state accounting system which would provide an objective picture of the existence and utilization of labor resources throughout the country and its regions. The following recently came over the TASS teletype machines: "Who would have thought that an informal organization such as the 'Unemployed Association' would come about in our country? But it already exists and, the association claims, its range of interests covers no fewer than 23 million people...."

You will agree that this is an appalling figure. But how realistic is it? Can our labor organs hit back with accurate figures broken down by categories of unemployed? At any rate, it seems that the "informals" have now become more resourceful than "formal" organizations.

We have started drawing up a law on employment guarantees. But won't it be purely pretentious if it has no substantial material basis? We need a special employment fund. We should probably define the principles on which it should be based. In Sweden, for instance, around 2 percent of national product goes on solving the employment problem. We are not planning to spend that amount, but if we were able to channel only 0.3 percent of national product—or a total of around R2 billion—into this area, P. Rudev of the USSR Goskomtrud believes that it would be a real social revolution in implementing citizens' right to work.

It is not ruled out that the creation of an employment fund will require payments from both enterprises and workers themselves. In Japan, for instance, 0.85 percent of the monthly wages fund is contributed to the enterprises' insurance fund, while the workers themselves pay 0.5 percent out of their taxable pay. The personal responsibility of each worker to replenish the employment fund and participate directly in its formation would be a kind of guarantee in the event of unemployment—from which nobody is immune—and would ensure social confidence in the future.

Incidentally, even a statewide law on employment will not solve all the problems. That is why, in drawing up regional models of economic accountability today, it is necessary to invest funds in them for the social protection of workers. The creation of new jobs and worker retraining centers could be conducted in the regions bearing historical and cultural traditions in mind. Regional employment funds could substantially and considerably reinforce the statewide program for combating unemployment....

Once when I was in Britain I chatted with the driver of our tourist bus.

"I'm really unemployed," Michael admitted in a not too depressed tone of voice. "I only work for Progressive Tours in the summer."

He started explaining the complicated system of unemployment benefit payments. I couldn't make out much, but I realized that if people don't want to retrain they can "wait" for work—admittedly, up to a certain point. This point, incidentally, differs in different countries. Doctor of Economic Sciences I. Bushmarin quotes the following figures: In the United States the maximum period of payments is 7 and ½ months. The second stage of help to those without work then begins—unemployment assistance. This lasts for different periods, too.

What are we to do? Under current conditions we can hardly pay benefits or compensation for long periods and at high levels. That is why it is more important to emphasize unemployment "prevention"—to regulate in good time the process by which workers are released, to retrain them, and to find jobs for them. New enterprises must be sited taking the demographic situation in regions into account. Favored status should be given to those enterprises and cooperatives which provide work for young people, women, pensioners, and invalids. Shift coefficients should be raised so as to increase the number of jobs without building new production premises.

This work to "prevent" unemployment is extremely important. I recently talked with Yu. Sillast, chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Goskomtrud. He noted:

"People are generally discharged when they are out of line with new or increased demands. This means that the main thing is to keep people 'in shape' and help them to add to or renew their knowledge. In Europe, for instance, there is a 'space-based' training system—using an EEC satellite and the TV to transmit courses on learning new working methods and new technology. There is also student-teacher feedback. The effect of attending makes it easier to understand the material and accelerates the pace at which knowledge is disseminated. Why do we not join this system? The cost is quite acceptable."

When the people's deputies ratified V. Shcherbakov as Goskomtrud chairman at the first Supreme Soviet session, he recalled on the one hand that one of the main advantages of socialism is the high level of social protection for people but, on the other, that such a high level of protection on all sides had led to low production efficiency.

The complete confidence that people in our country would not go without jobs did indeed give rise to an "epidemic of indifference" toward work. Working people's main quality was lost—the pride taken by experts in the things they manufacture for people. Incidentally, during the same session this was mentioned with genuine sadness by People's Deputy V. Borovkov, a fitter from Leningrad. While declaring the right to work enshrined in the USSR Constitution, we are completely losing sight of the quality of work itself, its effectiveness for society, and even more so of pay according to work, rather than wage-leveling.

Only productive and effective work rather than an imitation of it can be the "Archimedes' lever" of economic perestroyka. Keeping up the myth of full employment just to set everyone up and find a job for everyone is not merely duplicitous but immoral.

Of course, unemployment is not a good thing, but nor is it simply a social ill. It is a complex social phenomenon which also emerges during the modernization of production and the enhancement of labor productivity. We should not close our eyes to this by spouting generalized slogans. You can't buck the laws of economics. Their not always pleasant effects cannot be concealed behind the trumpery of declarations or the gilt of slogans. The sooner we leave behind the dogma of a state of full and universal employment, the more dynamically the economy and its socially backward areas will develop. The sooner we realize that life continues to be a struggle, the faster we will become enterprising and combative, the sooner we will develop the "muscles" of psychological tempering, and the sooner we will abandon free-loading attitudes.

This is not to everyone's liking. For too long we have worn the rose-colored glasses of a social idyll. This, incidentally, is attested by letters to the editorial office. Our reader M. Golubev of Saratov writes: "I do not want, nor do I think the Soviet people want, labor exchanges and unemployment to appear in our country." This is in line with the letter from G. Pirozhkov of Perm Oblast: "Our worry is that the thousands of drunks, thieves, and other good-for-nothings who don't want to work will get unemployment benefit...."

It is as if unemployment depends on somebody's personal wishes, rather than on the objective economic state of society. It is as if society's lack of confidence and organization were not to blame for some people going to pieces. V. Mastitskiy of Nikolayev aptly notes in this respect: "Robberies, thefts, murders, breaches of the peace, and the increasingly frequent cases of speculation usually involve people who have no jobs. They have to live, so they go to extremes."

...So is unemployment a threat? I think this is already an irrelevant question. Unemployment is with us now in many regions. We need to answer a different question at this time: How to mitigate and overcome its terrible consequences, and what guarantees to create in order to defend working people's freely chosen and freely implemented right to work.

Inquiry Into Alma-Ata Railway Station Fire

904h0033B Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 25 Oct 89 p 2

[Report by B. Demyankov, deputy chief of the Ministry of Railways' Main Administration for Traffic Safety: "'The Propane Exploded'"]

[Text] The collegium of the USSR Ministry of Railways has examined materials from the investigation of the causes of an accident that took place on the approach track to the Alma-Ata-2 station on the Alma-Ata Railroad.

Families that were made homeless as a result of the fire have been provided with apartments in a new apartment house. All victims have been given material assistance.

The Ministry of Railways has dismissed Dalibayev, the chief of the Alma-Ata-2 station; Suyrekbayev, the traffic safety inspector for that track section; Yedenov, the traffic safety inspector for the Railroad Traffic Service Administration; and the deputy chief of the Alma-Ata section of the Vyazemskiy line for permitting serious violations of the technical rules for the operation of the railroads and failure to comply with USSR Ministry of Railways orders and instructions. The chief of the Alma-Ata line section, Rysyukov, and the chief engineer for the Traffic Services Administration for the line, Segalu, have been severely reprimanded.

The collegium issued a warning to Alma-Ata Railroad deputy chiefs Zhesakbayev and Troshkin for their improper attitude toward their duties. The chief of the railroad, Kobzhaserov, was dismissed from his post.

Organs of the procurator are conducting an investigation.

Materials on the investigation of the causes and circumstances of the accident at Alma-Ata have been examined by the Alma-Ata Gorkom and the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, which have issued decisions expelling from the CPSU the deputy chief of the Alma-Ata section of the Vyazemskiy line and the chief of the Alma-Ata-2 station, Dalibayev. A number of leading workers in the Alma-Ata section and the Alma-Ata Railroad Line Administration were severely censured by the party.

On instructions from the ministry, a number of specific steps have been taken on the railroads to prevent cases involving violation of traffic safety during the transport of dangerous cargos. Chiefs of railroad lines have been assigned the task of inspecting approach lines used by freight cars loaded with dangerous cargos, and of insuring good visibility on lines used for making up trains. It has been proposed that together with the territorial soviet organs, a study be made of the feasibility of removing gas-filling stations from densely populated regions.

Agricultural

'Immediate' Reform Urged in Food Supply System

90UI0088A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 28 Oct 89 p 4

[Article by Peter Marcy: "'Let Us Debate!'"]

[Text] Recently, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 22 July of this year—editorial note) published an interview with research associate of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations Andrey Sizov entitled "The Grain Lobby" devoted to the imports of grain and some other problems of Soviet agriculture. I will note right away that I subscribe to the position of the Soviet scientist on many points.

Unfortunately, I have never met Mr Sizov; had I met him I would have been able to acquaint him with the experience the (Mooremans) company has acquired in the USSR. The point is that two statements by Mr Sizov in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA somewhat confused me. Thus, in referring to ready-made mixes and concentrated feed, Sizov mentions the potential danger posed by chemical additives in the fodder and the reluctance of health-conscious consumers in the United States and Europe to purchase meat containing such additives. His concern about this problem is quite understandable. However, ready-made mixes and concentrated feed of the (Mooremans) Company contain no chemical additives; they are a complex of vitamins, proteins, and minerals which are added to the feed made of soy beans and are named "concentrated feed A." These ready-made mixes promote the health, growth, and reinforcement of the skeleton of growing animals. The fact that Sizov is not familiar with the operations of (Mooremans) and its products may be explained by the fact that our company is a private enterprise doing business in the United States and Canada. Nonetheless, I may state that (Mooremans) is the largest producer of ready-made mixes and concentrated feed in the world which has 12 enterprises and 40 warehouses and distribution centers. The soybean processing plant in Quincy, Illinois which belongs to the company is the largest enterprise in the United States; the company itself has specialized in such products for more than 100 years now.

As I have already written in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, (Mooremans) has approached the Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee] with specific proposals. The use of our product "mintrat-X," commonly applied in the United States, by Soviet farms would help to double the production of pork within a year and save over one-half of grain and fodder used at present for fattening hogs. In this manner, low-fat pork with a higher meat content could be produced. Experiments with the feeding of animals performed in Soviet Union in 1983 confirmed the value of the "mintrat-X" compound. Savings due to the use of "mintrat-X" in the fodder amount to more than 25 percent per animal compared to the current costs in Soviet agriculture. Incidentally,

Soviet delegations, including some high-ranking ones, have visited enterprises of the (Mooremans) Company and farmers who use the products of the company. Its achievements have invariably received high grades.

We believe that the use of concentrated feed is the quickest and most efficient way to solve the most acute foodstuffs problems which the Soviet Union is facing. There is nothing new about it: The entire world is doing so. We have also proposed to use the funds released due to the use of "mintrat-X" as investment in the infrastructure of Soviet agriculture. A modern system of elevators with appropriate grain-drying facilities will cost less than $35 per ton of grain. This corresponds approximately to the cost of grain which is lost annually due to losses in storage and drying. In other words, such an investment would be recouped within 1 year and would rid the Soviet Union of grain imports. The use of concentrated feed and new grain-processing installations could provide for the surplus of such products. This is the way to solve the problem which we have proposed.

I have encountered other proposals as well. For example, one of them was made by the journalist Nikolay Timchenko in PRAVDA on 8 April 1989. If I understand him correctly, he proposes to solve the problem by growing soy beans in the USSR where this crop cannot ripen in the territories situated beyond the 45th parallel, i.e., outside the boundaries of Krasnodar Kray. Soy beans are a light-sensitive crop which requires a lengthy light cycle. As I understood from the statistics quoted by Timchenko, the soy beans grown in the USSR provide crop yields of between one-third and one-half of those in the United States. It would also be erroneous to consider that growing soy beans alone will solve the problem of balanced feed. Ready-made mixes are needed in order to secure the results desired with regard to the cycle of growth, meat quality, and volume of production. The Soviet SKA mix does not produce the effect desired and is available in insufficient quantities. Timchenko criticized the (Mooremans) Company maintaining that it offers "mintrat-X" to the USSR at prices twice as high as the world price. Meanwhile, we have sent to the Gosagroprom and the editor of PRAVDA documentary evidence to the effect that we offer to the Soviet Union a 20-percent reduction compared to U.S. prices, and the American prices for concentrated feed are lower than in Europe. Such articles mislead the reader and create an erroneous idea about the operation of our company.

This year is extremely difficult for the Soviet Union from the socioeconomic and political point of view.

What is happening in your country? After all, we see that a rigid dictatorship threatening the life of every citizen has ceased to exist. Political freedom and respect for the rights of individuals have come to replace it. Gorbachev has become a favorite of the West. Peace has come to replace many years of mutual mistrust, and universal peace appears within reach.

What brings about this kind of instability inside the Soviet Union? The answer is evident: The lack of foodstuffs and consumer goods, as well as of the hope for their appearance in the immediate future. Despite all the reshuffling in ministries, the old command system protects an egoistic bureaucracy which is incapable of action. The voices of those who venture to state new ideas are ignored. Unfortunately, many of those who are referred to as "economists" have a very limited knowledge of the market economy and zero practical experience. Judging by their statements and articles in the press, they frequently just exacerbate the confusion instead of clarifying things. Nonetheless, we cannot doubt their intelligence and sincerity. They lived in the dark for so long that they simply cannot conceive of the actual opportunities offered by their profession.

For many years, I have been trying to convince agricultural functionaries of the USSR, including the chairman of the former Gosagroprom, that studying U.S. agricultural technology is necessary. These have been futile attempts because they threatened "the system." Indeed, a mighty "grain lobby" has evolved which will not allow new products or methods to infiltrate the strictly guarded reservation. Annually, dozens of millions of tons of grain are purchased abroad. Alternative scenarios such as acquiring concentrated feed of which much higher efficiency is characteristic at considerably lower prices are not even under consideration. The Ministry of Grain Products which managed grain procurement within the country and abroad drew a profit of 100 percent selling grain to Soviet cattle producers who in a majority of cases were also grain producers. The system created by Stalin has been operating reliably. This system is the very reason for the current disastrous situation. Grain can only be kept at state elevators. Storage facilities at agricultural enterprises are absent. This is why Soviet farmers have to sell their grain to the state and cannot keep it for fodder.

If the Soviet Union is going to delay the implementation of economic reforms and does not take measures aimed at rectifying the structure of its agriculture soon, the current foodstuffs crisis will only deteriorate. The political consequences of it will create new social problems in the country. Therefore, the vital need for immediate and constructive reform measures is obvious.

First Commercial Noted on Moscow Hindi Beam

BK1411153689

[Editorial Report] Moscow in Hindi to India at 1400 GMT on 14 November carries a commercial, in announcement form, on Soviet grain harvesters. The announcement says: "Do you want a powerful and productive grain harvester? Immediately contact (Roschtilmash) firm. Ninety percent of the Soviet Union's grain harvesters are manufactured at (Roschtilmash) factory. They have been tested in 30 countries of the world. (Roschtilmash) firm manufactures four kinds of grain harvester—Don 1500, Don 1500r, Don 1200,

and Don 1200k. The Don harvester is a product of high technology. It is a powerful and productive machine. With the help of these harvesters utilizing a trustworthy, modern mechanism, you will be able to harvest your crop in no time and without incurring any loss."

The announcement then gives the firm's address in (Don) city for contact and more information.

Military

Yazov: 8.2 Percent Drop in '90 Defense Expenditure

PM2011174989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by "our correspondent": "Duty to the Fatherland: USSR Defense Minister Army General D.T. Yazov's Meeting With Students"]

[Text] On 17 November, at the discussion center based at the Moscow Civil Engineering Institute, questions connected with perestroyka in higher and secondary education and the organization of the educational process were discussed. The following question was among them: "The student and the military faculty." So it was not for nothing that Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, took part in the discussion center's work.

Addressing those present, he said, in particular:

What we military men are now asked most often is how perestroyka is going in the Armed Forces and how the processes of democratization and glasnost are developing there. I can say that in the Army and Navy these processes are proceeding in the mainstream of the renewal of Soviet society, in close linkage with the resolution of the problems now being tackled by the party and people in all spheres—political, economic, and spiritual. How could it be otherwise? After all, the Army is part of the people and shares their life.

The defense minister noted that this is manfiested in everything. Take, for instance, the transformation of the Armed Forces in line with our present-day defensive military doctrine. This basically means implementing the ideas of the new political thinking in the most sensitive and difficult sphere—the military sphere. The process of implementing these ideas is taking place in the context of the general strategy of the revolutionary perestroyka of society and the swing from extensive to intensive approaches, from quantity to quality. This applies to the personnel, technical equipment, and structure of the Armed Forces, their training, and the education of personnel. In short, all aspects of military life and activity.

A systematic unilateral reduction in troops and arms is in progress today—by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 guns, and 820 combat aircraft. We have already withdrawn three tank divisions from the territory of our Warsaw Pact allies, and disbanded [rasformirovali] them. At the same time assault aircraft units and assault landing and assault crossing subunits and others, as well as a large quantity of arms and hardware, were withdrawn from the groups of forces. The divisions remaining for the time being on the allies' territory are being reformed [pereformiruyutsya] in a defensive spirit. Reductions are taking place in the east, too. One tank division and three air defense brigades have been withdrawn from Mongolia. An air division, an air regiment, and certain other units and subunits have been disbanded [rasformirovany]. A number of combined troop formations have been transformed into machinegun-artillery formations.

In accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution, over 173,000 students have already been discharged from the Armed Forces. The total number of personnel discharged from active military service in the context of the half-million reduction now stands at over 260,000. Of nearly 100,000 officers subject to the reduction process around 70,000 have already been discharged. In 1990 our defense expenditure will be R70.9 billion, which is 8.2 percent less than last year.

That is the organizational side. Armed Forces training is also being transformed in the spirit of defense, and field manuals and other regulating documents are being formulated similarly. The process of the democratization of military life is becoming ever more discernible, and the mechanisms it has engendered are operating with growing success: Standing certification commissions, councils and meetings of various categories of personnel, women's councils, and other democratic army and navy institutions. There is an increasingly resolute emphasis on human beings and on their needs and requirements.

D.T. Yazov paid a great deal of attention to the range of questions connected with military training in higher educational establishments, which are of particular interest to a student audience. He stressed that military service has been and remains the constitutional duty of every USSR citizen. In the context of preparations for its worthy fulfilment and for the solution of tasks connected with the defense of the socialist fatherland it is very important that students, too, study military matters. There are many problems at the moment, sometimes rather acute ones, when it comes to organizing preconscription military training. Naturally, it is not always possible to match the wishes of each specific student to the actual possibilities and requirements of the organization of the country's adequate and reliable defense. The Defense Ministry is tackling these problems in conjunction with the USSR State Committee for Public Education, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and other departments and institutions. In this context constructive proposals by students are also being studied and considered.

The entire life and activity of the Soviet Armed Forces is now geared to the task of preventing war and ensuring peaceful conditions for the revolutionary transformation

of our society, the creative labor of the Soviet people, and the strengthening of security and peace in the world.

The defense minister answered students' questions and participated in a discussion of the final documents.

Gromov Recalls Afghanistian, Life, Career

PM1611171989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Colonel General B.V. Gromov by special correspondent Nikolay Bulavintsev: "Truth Is Above Sensations"; date and place unspecified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Today everyone knows his name, even though he never sought fame. Neither before, when he commanded the 40th Army in Afghanistan, nor now, as commander of Kiev Military District. But nonetheless.... Talk to Afghan veterans and you are bound to hear good things about him. Many of them think that Gromov's appointment as commander of the 40th Army was a gift from the gods for them. Like sons, they refer to him as "our army commander." He was never aloof from them, being in that hot country their army commander, their father, and their elder brother, and realizing that their fate and lives would largely depend on his decisions. Today Hero of the Soviet Union Col Gen B.V. Gromov answers questions from SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's special correspondent.

[Bulavintsev] Boris Vsevolodovich, as is well known, the High Command—particularly Marshals Akhromeyev and Ogarkov—were opposed to Soviet troops being sent into Afghanistan. Why did the country's top leaders ignore their opinions? Many people are now asking this question: How could we have taken a secret decision, entered into the war, and then gotten bogged down there for almost 10 years....

[Gromov] I do not intend to go into all the details of the introduction of troops into Afghanistan. Answers to many of the questions will be provided by the commission set up by the Supreme Soviet at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies. I will just say what is obvious to me: The defense of the Afghan people was necessary. Bearing in mind the full complexity of the situation in the region, Afghanistan could not have been left defenseless. After all, nobody knew how all the events that had come to a head there would turn out. I'm not talking now about the 40th Army's combat operations. We were forced to engage in such operations. Our initial tactic was to set up garrisons. This we steadily did. But events developed in such a way that we were obliged to engage in combat operations that were forced upon us.... In order to understand the essence of this highly difficult "Afghan" question it is necessary to know the laws and features of the East. When our troops entered Afghan territory the enemies of the Afghan revolution and the opposition forces worked considerably better than the forces headed by the government. They inspired the people more quickly and started attacking our garrisons and the supply lines guarded by our soldiers, along which fuel, food, and munitions were being supplied to Afghanistan. I would note that during all these years we never took anything from Afghanistan except the air we breathed. On the contrary, we brought everything in. When fierce attacks by opposition forces began we were forced to respond.

[Bulavintsev] But could the introduction of troops and further combat operations have been avoided? After all, it is now said that the information which the Soviet Government was receiving from Afghanistan through certain diplomatic channels on the eve of the war was not totally accurate. Decisions were largely based on this information.

[Gromov] I cannot state firmly just what that information was. But I am sure that before making such a serious decision to send troops into any country—much less an Eastern country—it is necessary to know the smallest details of the situation. Information was coming out of Afghanistan through diplomatic, economic, and military channels. In particular, Army General Pavlovskiy was there during that period. He recently wrote in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY that, according to all the information, it was not necessary to send troops into Afghanistan. That was the General Staff's position, too. But the opinion of the military was not heeded, and I think that there was information from other channels. Not entirely accurate information, I would say. Somewhat distorted information, which was the basis for corresponding ideas about the political situation in that country.

[Bulavintsev] The question of the personal responsibility of... USSR people's deputies for sending Soviet troops into Afghanistan is now being raised increasingly often.

[Gromov] I think that before talking about personal responsibility we should finally clarify the main question: We should clearly look into the situation and the reasons behind the decision to send in the troops. Only then should we talk about personal responsibility. One thing increasingly alarms me: The increasingly frequent attacks on Soviet soldiers who served in Afghanistan. Unfortunately, many people now judge Afghanistan in an overtly superficial way, using all the acuteness of the subject for their own ends.

[Bulavintsev] So, one way or another, Soviet troops found themselves involved in combat operations. A war was raging. Just when, in your view, did the breakthrough come?

[Gromov] Probably with the advent of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. By then were were already deeply involved in combat operations. The opposition—and I'm not just saying this for effect—was a threat not just to us but to the Afghan people. Jalalabad, Khowst, Qandahar, and other provinces were blockaded. The opposition forces were not attacking political centers but the people, the civilian population. Real destruction and bloody reprisals were under way. The cruelty of many

armed actions knew no bounds. We could not watch all these atrocities happening and stand idly by. We were forced to look for these large gangs, which would not enter into any negotiations or deals.

[Bulavintsev] Did you personally meet with the gang leaders? What kind of people were they?

[Gromov] I repeatedly met with the gang leaders. We repeatedly attempted to solve the problem by peaceful means. Unfortunately, by no means all of our attempts were successful. But in a number of regions we managed to establish a more or less normal atmosphere for people's lives. Most of the gang leaders had no political positions. But they had to use the large amounts of money and weapons they received. They were mainly the so-called "hard-liners"—the leaders of large and well-equipped gangs. But there were also some who were frankly confused. Some of them later came over to the government side. In general the war was not really fought against the government, but against the people. And as events since our withdrawal from Afghanistan show, the Afghan people have almost entirely defined their stance vis-a-vis the hard-liners. Torn by internal dissension, excessive greed, and an uncontrolled desire for power, the opposition leaders have shown the Afghan people their true colors. Everyone now knows their real intentions. Even their Western patrons are extremely concerned about the highly exacerbated contradictions among the leaders of the hard-liners' alliance—contradictions which are fundamentally undermining their plans in the region. I think that time will sort everything out in Afghanistan and the people will be able to make a final assessment of the opposition's actions.

[Bulavintsev] Boris Vsevolodovich, I'd like to know your opinion of the current leader of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and his predecessor. What was their standing with the Afghan people and what was their position on the events there?

[Gromov] I will state frankly that before 1985 they had mainly adopted a parasitic position. Through their entire demeanor and behavior the Afghan leaders let us understand what we should all do for them. That was how it was. But the position started changing with the advent of Najibullah. After all, the parasitic positions adopted by the Afghan Government initially left a major mark on all economic and political life. It was impossible to ignore this. And Najibullah—we have to give him his due—became actively involved in the work to settle relations in the country and normalize life. A great deal changed for the better once he came to power.

[Bulavintsev] The death toll of officers and men in Afghanistan is now officially given as 13,000. But people have been heard to say that this is too low. They claim that considerably more people died...

[Gromov] I know where you're coming from. This is indeed a very serious and tragic question. I know for sure that, all told, around 13,860 people were killed. They died in battle, from sickness, or in accidents. The people who say far more died in Afghanistan don't know what they're talking about.... I have accurate information....

[Bulavintsev] Do internationalist servicemen often visit you or write you? What are their worries and concerns nowadays? What sort of a reception, in your view, did the motherland give to the returning Afghan veterans?

[Gromov] A very great deal is now being said about the so-called "Afghan complex." A very great deal depends on the guys themselves. Some of them can't take it and go to pieces. Some of them fall in with criminal groupings. This is all very bad. But the complacency that the Afghan veterans sometimes encounter here at home is criminal, too. There have been cases when the guys have been cold-shouldered as soon as they got home. For instance, they were asked for kickbacks if they wanted a flight home. This is a form of blasphemy—an insult to everything that is sacred, everything that is human. Often, on getting home, the soldiers would come up against indifferent officials who would say "I didn't send you to Afghanistan...." But, guys, you have to stick it out and be patient. You can't change human nature overnight. Naturally, not everybody understands or can accept the extremes these guys have been through or their acute perception of everything that happened. But we must learn to understand each other and get used to civilian life. When all is said and done it is beautiful and, God willing, there will be no repetition of what happened in Afghanistan. Today we are faced with the acute questions of treating and rehabilitating internationalist servicemen. The shortage of good artificial limbs is very tangible. We need to resolve these questions as quickly as possible, although I know that in many parts of the country people are trying to solve these problems and the housing problem and are totally sincere in their attitude to internationalist servicemen. But the problems still remain, and it is too soon to close this subject....

[Bulavintsev] But, nonetheless, certain internationalist servicemen want to go back to Afghanistan even though the war is over, and cannot get used to civilian life at all. And you yourself went back on three occasions, although you could probably have stayed home....

[Gromov] I could have.... Of course I could. I was drawn there by inexplicable reasons. Although—why inexplicable? There were wonderful, fraternal relations between people over there. People there were far better, purer, and more human, even though there was a war on. And that's straightforward. Perhaps because people remembered that the guy beside you one day could be gone tomorrow. They tried to cherish each other because of that....

[Bulavintsev] Are you tormented by the so-called "Afghan complex"? Do you often remember Afghanistan?

[Gromov] I think about it every day and constantly dream about it. I often flick through my photographs,

look at guys' faces and remember that Afghanistan will never leave me. It will be with me until the end of my days....

[Bulavintsev] Have you heard that Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan are called occupiers and invaders...?

[Gromov] That's utter rubbish! Those who say such things know nothing about what happened over there. Like, for instance, when the presenter of the television program "Vzglyad" stated in an unbelievably flippant way in one of the September broadcasts that it was allegedly a criminal war. Naturally, that phrase caused a lot of trouble—it was said by someone with the vaguest notion of the war and who should not be saying such things. Nonetheless.... Sensationalism should not be placed above the truth, all the more so in front of a television audience of millions. I can state that we were not invaders. Had we been occupiers we would probably have been living in luxurious mansions in Kabul and fine houses, and we would have driven the people out. But we lived in tents in the 30-degree frost and 40-degree heat of Kabul in 1980. And we had no goal of winning the war ahead of us, and there was never any talk anywhere of such a victory. But it would be absurd to say that we were defeated there, although such comments are heard increasingly frequently. After all, with the means at our disposal we could have solved all our military problems very easily. But the task was to ensure that there were as few losses as possible among our soldiers and the Afghans. 60 percent of all our tasks were profoundly civilian in orientation. We built very many houses over there, we built an asphalt plant in Qandahar, we built hundreds of kilometers of metaled roads, we restored the power lines in Qandahar.... And we military men brought huge amounts of flour, grain, and other products into Afghanistan.

[Bulavintsev] But why did you not mention this at the Congress? After all, feelings there were running so high on the Afghan question.

[Gromov] That was not the only reason why feelings were running high.... Academician Sakharov—who, in my opinion, was rather ill-considered in rushing to make a statement on Afghanistan—is no authority on the matter as far as I'm concerned. Following his statement I issued him an official deputy's request. I think that Andrey Dmitriyevich, as an upright and cultured man, should apologize to all those who were in Afghanistan and fought over there. I have not received any reply....

I would say that whatever conclusions the commission draws as to whether it was right or wrong to send troops into Afghanistan, our soldiers's actions over there should not be reflected in those conclusions—that is the most important point. Currently a number of articles in the central press, in the magazine OGONEK, the weekly SOBESEDNIK, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, and the program "Vzglyad" are in general trying to drive a wedge between the Army and society. The sorest of sore points—the war in Afghanistan—has been selected for this purpose. First and foremost, we should listen to the Afghans themselves. After all, it is no accident that when Soviet people now travel to Afghanistan and the Afghans realize that they are from the USSR—whether they be journalists or other specialists—people go up to them, pat them on the back, and virtually treat them as relatives. Today the Afghans have realized just what the 40th Army meant to them. I make no bones about stating out loud that the 40th Army saved the lives of tens of thousands of Afghans.

[Bulavintsev] Boris Vsevolodovich, how do you assess the work of Soviet journalists in Afghanistan?

[Gromov] I treat them above all as resolute and tough people of great courage. Of course, their reports also contained some embellishments—which we weren't crazy about—and there were shortcomings and inaccuracies. But I realized that the inadequate and inaccurate coverage of Afghan events was not the fault of the individual journalists but of the journalistic practice at the time. At 40th Army Headquarters our doors and roads were always open to journalists, irrespective of which organ they represented. I don't think any of the people who worked there would deny this today. That is why I treat these people with great respect. And I value the work of the journalists in Afghanistan very highly. I would not single out any individual press representative. The names of those who covered the Afghan events are well known to millions of Soviet people. The internationalist servicemen who many times saw Soviet journalists in the most complex operations know that the combat orders on their chests are testimony to their valor, courage, and high professionalism.

[Bulavintsev] Boris Vsevolodovich, you took part in many combat operations. Which ones do you remember most?

[Gromov] Operation "Main Line," naturally. It coincided with the end of 1987 and the start of 1988, when we lifted the blockade of the town of Khowst. The situation in the region was extremely complex and difficult because we had to overcome resistance from the Dzhadran [name as transliterated] tribe. This tribe has never recognized any authority—be it a king, a shah, or the Afghan Government. They refused point-blank to let our convoys into the town. But we had to lift the blockade of Khowst because it was in a critical condition. Moreover, Pakistan wanted to use the area for the interim government.... We already knew that the troop withdrawal was close at hand, and we were definitely waiting for the end of combat operations. So we were faced with the task of carrying out an operation with the smallest loss of life. How many people took part in the operation on our side? More than 20,000 officers and men. Our losses were 24 killed and 56 wounded....

We prepared for the operation in the most painstaking fashion. We made a detailed study of all the Dzhadran tribe's customs. But before combat operations started we made three attempts to persuade their leaders to let us

through peacefully without fighting. We knew that the opposition forces were roughly 50 percent greater than ours. Yet the operation was completed successfully. The blockade of lifeless, starving Khowst was lifted. We used a feint in this operation, landing a decoy airborne assault subunit in the combat zone near the enemy's weapon positions. By drawing the fire they revealed the enemy's entire defensive system, which was immediately bombarded by our artillery and aircraft.

[Bulavintsev] Boris Vsevolodovich, what was your happiest day in all the years you spent in Afghanistan?

[Gromov] Naturally, 15 February. I think it was happy not just for me but for thousands, hundreds of thousands of Soviet people.

[Bulavintsev] When people now talk about the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan it is increasingly said that the "reciprocity principle" should have been observed—that is, the withdrawal of each garrison or combat unit of ours from Afghan territory should have been followed by the elimination of a combat subunit of the enemy army.

[Gromov] That would have been the ideal, of course. But, unfortunately, the opposing side did not carry out a single point of the treaty signed in

[Bulavintsev] Are there, in your view, any guarantees that similar decisions to begin combat operations will never again be made without consulting with the people?

[Gromov] I believe such guarantees do exist. The guarantees lie in the fact that we are all different now. At any rate, I would very much like to think so....

[Bulavintsev] Boris Vsevolodovich, what weaknesses in the Soviet Army did the war in Afghanistan bring to light, in your view?

[Gromov] The war in Afghanistan was a good test for all of us. A test to breaking point for each individual soldier and for the Army. The war in Afghanistan demonstrated the wide gap between theory and practice and pointed up a number of problems. Afghanistan purified people and made them better—I am sure of that. Although, naturally, war is war. It was a stage for heroism and baseness. There was far less of the latter, of course. As for the Army, the war in Afghanistan did of course reveal its weaknesses, too. The most important point—I repeat—is the gap between theory and practice. But that is inevitable....

[Bulavintsev] What aspects of the Army would you change after coming through the Afghan war?

[Gromov] I wouldn't change anything fundamentally, although I would change a great deal in the training of the men and even of officers. Particularly in the training of entire subunits. Regrettably, we put little time into physical training, which directly affects morale.

Furthermore, I would increase the time, funds, and resources devoted to training within subunits. That is, the training not of individual officers and men, but of entire subunits. On the other hand, in peacetime troop training is conducted in such a way that the Army does a great many things that are alien to it. We should remove all those tasks from the Army such as gathering the harvest and construction, in which not only construction troops are involved.

[Bulavintsev] What is your attitude to the Army cuts and the democratization of the Army?

[Gromov] I think that the Armed Forces need to be cut. But I wouldn't do it in one fell swoop, I would spread it out a bit more, because many social questions remain unresolved. Although, I repeat, on the whole the decision is correct and timely. But the fact is that many officers who are currently being discharged have no apartments or firm position in society. The position in the Army itself continues to be complex. Suffice it to say that in Kiev Military District alone there are around 19,000 officers and warrant officers on the housing list. That figure will increase considerably as the Army cuts bite. But you surely realize that the cuts affect people's careers and families. This affects the morale not only of those discharged, but of those who stay behind as well.

[Bulavintsev] It is increasingly often said nowadays that we should set up a professional army....

[Gromov] I'm categorically against that. If we were now to make our army a hired, professional army—although it cannot be said that our Armed Forces are not professional—we would to all intents and purposes be destroying everything that had been built up over decades.

Second, bearing in mind the processes taking place in society today—that is, the reluctance on the part of many people to do their Army service, and so forth—we would be giving up on the education of men whom we train not just for the Army but, for the rest of their lives as well. For good or ill, they learn a trade in the Army and get toughened up.

Third—and this is important—there is the material position. At the moment we simply cannot afford a professional army. But there are things more important than money.... As for certain articles in the press and television programs, where the Army comes in for sweeping, wholesale censure, my opinion on them is straightforward. I've no objection to sincere, frank, and direct discussions about our problems. There can be no limits or no-go areas for glasnost. That is my firm conviction. But when material of a purely negative nature is churned out day after day it makes me perplexed and bitter. Some people do it without knowing the first thing about the subject. How people can write for an audience of millions about a most important state institution—the Army—without even looking into the problems is beyond me. The people know the true value

of their Army. Chernobyl, Armenia, Fergana, the Bashkiria disaster, Nagorno-Karabakh.... Wherever things are tough, wherever there really is deadly danger, the Army and its brave and courageous people will be to the fore.

[Bulavintsev] In their childhood the generation that grew up during the war or was born soon after it romanticized many military professions, particularly those of sailors, pilots, and border guards. Now this popularity is far lower. Why is that, do you think? What is preventing military people from maintaining their prestige at the proper level? Is there a place today for heroics, romance, and respect for the uniform?

[Gromov] I think that the entrance competitions to military colleges are a good indicator of the level of prestige enjoyed by military professions. The level of competition has not fallen at all this year. I agree that a certain falloff in the popularity of military professions can be discerned. For a very simple reason in my book—officers' lives are tough. By no means all the problems have been solved. But we are striving to resolve these questions. How can Army prestige be high if young people are fed a diet of one-sided, slanted information implying that everything in the Armed Forces is bad and totally unsuitable?

[Bulavintsev] But surely it is no secret to anyone today that bullying and local cronyism are rife in the Army and are liable to break any youngster starting his Army service.

[Gromov] But bullying and local cronyism are rife in civilian life too—only in other forms. Just look at what happens at vocational and technical college hostels and many schools. Although I'm not making excuses for the officers in whose subunits these things occur. There is a lot of cynicism and cruelty among young people. In general we do little work with people and their spiritual world. Complacency has taken firm root in our life. I believe that it's not just a question of the Army. The overall decline in moral standards and culture could lead to irreparable consequences. Out of all the speeches at the Congress of People's Deputies I would highlight the speech by Academician Dmitriy Sergeyevich Likhachev, who spoke with such pain about the growing crisis of culture. Unfortunately, little attention was paid to this. But I believe we will still have to encounter a great deal of problems connected with this. This is more than serious....

[Bulavintsev] Boris Vsevolodovich! Could you say a few brief words about yourself. After all, you returned to Afghanistan three times, rising through the ranks, as they say—from divisional commander to army commander.

[Gromov] All right then, briefly. I was born in Saratov in 1943. I didn't actually know my father, since he was killed at the Kursk Front before I was born. My upbringing was the same as that of any wartime kid. I later entered the Suvorov Military College in Saratov. After it was disbanded I was transferred to the Suvorov Military College in Kalinin. I then graduated from a Leningrad military academy. I completed my studies at the M.V. Frunze Military Academy in 1972. I had three tours in Afghanistan with two breaks—one of which was to study at the K.Ye. Voroshilov General Staff Academy. In all I spent 5 and ½ years in Afghanistan. And it will soon be a year since I was appointed commander of the Kiev Military District.... [Gromov ends]

Life and fate did not spare Gromov. Five years ago, when he was at war, misfortune befell his family. He was left with his two sons—Maksim and Andrey. The elder son is currently studying at a Suvorov college, the younger son is at school in Saratov. Since he returned from Afghanistan the legendary army commander's life is getting back to normal. But Afghanistan still has a painful hold over him.

[Bulavintsev] Anyway, Boris Vsevolodovich, what changes have there been in your life today?

[Gromov] First, I've gotten married. Second, my eldest son, Maksim, is following in my footsteps, having chosen the military life. He is currently studying at the Suvorov college. This is gratifying to me, although I don't want to force my sons to follow my career. Life here in Kiev, of course, is different from the life in Afghanistan. Although I still never have enough time to do everything.

[Bulavintsev] Could you describe your working day?

[Gromov] It's not that different from what it was in Afghanistan—there's still plenty to worry about. Admittedly I don't get up as early now as I used to over there. I now get up around 0700, whereas in Afghanistan I regularly rose at 0500-0530, although I still don't get to bed until gone midnight. The rest of it is Army life....

[Bulavintsev] Boris Vsevolodovich, which books and writers do you like? What warms your heart?

[Gromov] Unfortunately, recently I've not found time for reading as often as I would like. But my tastes are the same. I love the prose of Shukshin, Astafyev, Rasputin, and Nosov. They are truly Russian, popular writers with a real feel and deep love for the life of the Russian people. I love the ballet. But I don't often get to the theater, unfortunately.

[Bulavintsev] Judging by your strapping, athletic figure you're still a sportsman. How do you manage to keep in good shape?

[Gromov] In general I think that sport is very important for officers. That's axiomatic. I love cycling. I've taken up tennis recently. But, unfortunately, I can't get down to the court that often.

[Bulavintsev] Boris Vsevolodovich, talking about your sons, would you like your children to experience what you've experienced?

[Gromov] No.... Of course not. Never...!

There's one last thing I'd like to say. At the First Congress of People's Deputies Sergey Chervonopiskiy noted—quite rightly, in my view—that 80 percent of the deputies are Communists. But, unfortunately, few people at the Congress talked about our future. We servicemen who fought in Afghanistan appreciated Sergey's words: "Our Power. The Motherland. Communism. Those are the things to fight for." Those are not just fine words. They are a symbol of our life. I'm prepared to subscribe to every word of Sergey's speech. There has never been any other objective for us Soviet officers and men, and there never will be. That is why we serve. I would like to hope that at this complex time for the country all of society's healthy forces will unite and that work—constructive rather than destructive work—will finally begin on the implementation of the ideas of perestroyka....